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ART. I.—*Palestine and other Poems. By the late REGINALD HEBER, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Now first collected. With a Memoir of his Life.* Carey, Lea & Carey: Philadelphia: 1828.

It has been the complaint of the last half century, that very little of the true spirit of poetry, has preserved its existence unimpaired; and, that the “prodesse volunt, aut delectare” has degenerated on the one hand, into the very questionable shape of the modern song, and the scarcely more elevated sonnet, or sunk completely on the other, into the degrading service of immorality and vice. That this complaint is in some measure true, it is the misfortune of the lovers of genuine poetry, to be compelled to acknowledge, though they will be far from disposed to receive it in that latitude of meaning in which it is generally made. There are many redeeming instances which it is unnecessary for us to stop to mention, in which the efforts of the most exalted genius have been consecrated to the service of morality and religion; and if we are not strangely mistaken, the moral taste of the age is far from deterioration.

Among the individuals, who are very far from the application of all these sweeping denunciations, stands conspicuously the prelate whose poetical effusions have been collected in the volume, the title of which is placed at the head of our present article. And so familiar has the name of Heber become, not only in the religious, but the literary circles of our country, that we feel constrained to bestow a larger share of attention on the subject, than under ordinary circumstances would be deemed advisable. If, after all, our readers should think, that we have made too large a demand on their time and patience, all the apology

we offer is, that every work has its *extrinsic*, as well as *intrinsic* character; and that though the present volume of Heber is small in compass, especially when compared with the great work to which our attention was lately called, yet it derives importance from the circumstances which have invested the character of its author with a deep and lively, and universal interest. Previous, however, to our entering on a critical examination of the work itself, it may be proper to make some brief general observations, touching the history of Christianity in India, in order to introduce to our readers the memoir by which the poems are accompanied, for it is no disparagement to say, that Heber, the Poet, is indebted for his greatest reputation to Heber, the ardent and devoted Bishop. To the effort to plant the religion of the Cross in the far-distant regions of the East, are we beholden not only for the "Journal" which has passed under our notice, but to much of the charm of Heber's life, and Heber's poetry.

We address ourselves to this preliminary work, confident of meeting the approbation of the great body of Christians of every name among us; and not without the expectation of furnishing some materials even for philosophic speculation. For, we believe, there are few subjects which afford greater scope for intellectual and moral investigation, than those novel phenomena of mind, which are beginning to stand out so conspicuously before the public, on the score of what is technically called "the missionary enterprise." And let the apparently feverish excitement of the age on this subject, be viewed, as some foolishly affect to view it, as a kind of epidemic mania, pervading the land, and seizing on certain persons among the high and the low, the rich and the poor;—or let it be considered in the most favourable light, which the most zealous religionists can desire, it still affords a subject worthy of the philosopher's analysis and patient attention. But to our object.

Unquestionably, the most splendid missionary establishment which the world ever saw, was that well known under the title of the College "de Propaganda fide." Apart from the consideration, that one of the objects of this magnificent concern, was the aggrandizement of the Catholic church, it has challenged, and received, the admiration of the world, for the grandeur of the conception displayed in its plan,—for the truly gigantic character of its apparatus, and the prodigious energy and judgment which prepared and directed the arrangement and application of its means. Attention was early directed to the destitute and benighted regions of the East, and we have no hesitation in recording our conviction, that could a project of such extent and importance have been accomplished by human policy or power, the efforts of that society would seem to have been adequate.



The designs of the "Propaganda" embraced the conversion of the world, and in the different religious orders prepared to act under its directions, it had a power prodigious in force, and proportioned to the magnitude of the undertaking. These singular institutions supplied a number of men distinguished by ardour of piety and innocence of life, accustomed to labour, to poverty, to the severest privations; inured to implicit obedience; proficient in the study of human nature, and versed in the sciences, the arts, and the languages which could facilitate admission and intercourse in the several countries assigned for the exertions of their zeal.\* Bishop Warburton, who remarks that "we should be unjust to Rome, not to acknowledge its zeal to be equal to that of other churches, in displaying the Christian banner throughout the habitable world"—has given a striking picture of the training to which the Propaganda missionaries were subjected. He had spoken of the qualifications of the missionary,—“ardent zeal and unwearied diligence—appetites subdued to the distresses of want, and a mind superior to all the terrors of death.” Now, all these qualities and habits, their several orders of religions, whence these missionaries are taken, very early labour to inculcate. One quality is more deeply implanted by this order, another by that; and the most necessary and essential are formed in all: thus every monastic institution kindles and keeps alive that exalted charity—a self-sacrifice for the salvation of souls.

The Jesuits subdue the will by the severe discipline of blind obedience—to stand where they are placed, and run where they are bid. The Carthusians subdue the appetites by a tedious course of bodily labours and mortifying abstinences; and the order called “the Congregation of St. Paul,” subdues the whole man; for, in a sense peculiar to them, as their holy patron, they *die daily*; the observance of their whole rule consisting in one continued meditation on that king of terrors.

Nor is this all. The several orders, like workmen who travail separately on the various parts of the same machine, each of them to be sent to the master artist to be put into its destined place, where, by a proper combination, all are fitted for their peculiar use; the orders I say, send their subjects, thus prepared, to the COLLEGE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, to receive their last finishing and first motion; “by instruction in the languages, the manners, and the customs of the barbarous nations, to whose conversion they are appointed and addressed.”†

\* Dr. Hooley, Lord Bishop of London, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1817.

† Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1766.

And yet, the effect produced by all this mighty apparatus, was not so great in proportion, as might have been expected. Of the causes of failure, we are not qualified to speak, neither should we care to enter into any discussion, as this would lead into the region of polemics, as foreign from our taste, as it is from the grand design of our work.

Our business, in rapidly tracing the history of Christian effort in India, is more particularly connected with Protestantism, and still more with the efforts made by the British church. We necessarily pass by a variety of missions directed to other quarters of the globe, and we shall leave out from the consideration, those established by our own countrymen, neither last, nor least; because a full investigation would extend our article far beyond all reasonable limits, and we may find some future opportunity to enter fully into the history of American effort in the East.

In the beginning of the 18th century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, attempted the conversion of the heathen on the coast of Coromandel, and for that purpose he sent out Bartholomew Zeigenbalgrus and Henry Plutche, both educated for the ministry at the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony, and ordained by the Bishop of Zealand. In 1707, two years after their landing, they baptized five of the natives, as the first fruits of their labours among the heathen. This mission was patronized by George I. of England, and the then Primate, Archbishop Wake;—and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been established a few years before in London, came forward with alacrity and zeal in the support of the undertaking. Among the constant accessions of strength which this mission received, one of the most important was that of Christian Frederick Swartz, in 1750—a man, who, for nearly fifty years, was one of its brightest and most distinguished ornaments. Of this apostolic man, and his labours, it is impossible for us to speak in the short compass allowed for this sketch—suffice it to say, his equal has never yet appeared on the shores of India. What Heber might have been, had his valuable life been spared, we know not; but take all the circumstances into consideration, and Swartz has not yet had a rival. In token of his respect for Swartz, the Rajah of Tanjore, in 1798, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, requesting them to erect a monument of marble in his capital, in the church where the good man preached; “with a view,” said he, “to perpetuate the memory of Father Swartz, and to manifest the high esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him—my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth.” In 1807, the monument was erected by the East India Company.

The first serious, decided, and persevering attempt, to awaken the public attention of Protestant England, was made as late as 1805, by one whose name will ever be identified with the progress of Christianity in India; we mean Claudius Buchanan—perhaps not inappropriately termed the Apostle of the Indies. During the century in which they had been acquiring their oriental empire, the British East India Company, intent on the pursuits of commerce and ambition, and contending frequently, not only for aggrandizement, but for existence, were but little at leisure to attend to the moral and religious claims, even of their own European servants, much less to consider those of their native subjects, to any thing beyond general protection and the administration of justice. Among those, who, from the principles of infidelity, or, from the absorbing influence of worldly pursuits, felt little immediate concern in religion; and who, in the acquisition and consolidation of power, amidst the half-civilized votaries of idolatry and imposture, were tremblingly alive to the danger of offending or alarming them, by the too prominent profession of a purer faith, it may be easily imagined that no effort would be made.\* But, to the eye of Christian observation, the matter always appears in an aspect, which takes its character more from the lights of eternity, than from any views of short-sighted worldly policy; and, it is not surprising, that a subject so grand in itself, and so intimately connected with his own profession and local situation, should have early occurred to the mind of such a diligent and wakeful observer as Mr. Buchanan. Pearson, the learned biographer of Buchanan, observes, and indeed Buchanan himself, allows, in his *Christian Researches*, that the first suggestion was made to him by the late excellent Bishop Porteus, who had, he said, attentively examined the state of the British dominions in Asia, and had expressed his conviction of the indispensable importance of some vigorous effort to advance the interests of Christianity; and who can doubt it, when we consider that India, from the Indus to the Ganges—from Cape Cormorin to the mountains of Himalaya, and including the Island of Ceylon, contains a population of 80,000,000 of souls, directly, or indirectly, under the sway of the British Crown?

Dr. Buchanan's memoir on the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, produced a most powerful sensation of the public mind. This work is not probably familiar to the mass of our readers; neither is it necessary that we should at all enter into the argument, which was calculated to make so striking an impression on the British public. With their ecclesiastical establishment, and its consequent want of real to-

\* Rev. Hugh Pearson, *Life of Buchanan*, p. 218.

leration, we shall have a constant quarrel, and shall ever have reason to bless God, that in this, our country, church, and state, have no connexion. Religion, to flourish, must flourish by its own intrinsic excellency—it wants not the aid of the civil power. To be valuable, it must dwell in the heart; and when it has its residence there, it has a better guarantee than all the laws which human ingenuity could devise for its support. Be this as it may, the memoir of Dr. Buchanan presented arguments which had resistless weight with the people of England; and when a fair opportunity offered to discuss the whole subject, no opposition could stand before the torrent of awakened public sensibility. That opportunity was offered, when the renewal of the charter of the East India Company was brought before the British Parliament. Independently of the question of the slave trade, and the still more recent subject of Catholic emancipation, there never was one which produced so general an excitement over the British empire; and the periodical press of 1812–13, made the Christianizing of India its paramount topic. The object of all this discussion was, that, in the renewed charter of the Company, a clause should be inserted, providing for the formation of an adequate ecclesiastical establishment. The greatest names of England appear in this discussion; and a more decided mass of eloquence is nowhere to be found, than in the debates of parliament at this period. Petition after petition poured in from all quarters, in favour of the introduction; and on the tables of the two houses, no less than nine hundred were eventually laid, signed by more than half a million of the people of all ranks and degrees.\* On the 22d of June 1813, a memorable day in the history of British effort for Christianizing India, Lord Castlereagh proposed to the House of Commons the adoption of the following resolution, viz:—

“That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction, among them, of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement:—that in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient faculties shall be furnished by law, to persons going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs.”

On the 24th of the same month, it was moved by Lord Buckinghamshire in the House of Lords, and carried without a dissenting voice. In the Commons, the majority in favour had been fifty-three;—eighty-nine voting for it, and thirty-six against it.

In consequence of this triumph of the friends of religion, the Crown was enabled to constitute a bishopric, with such jurisdiction and functions, as should from time to time be defined by his

\* *Christian Observer*, June and July, 1813.



Majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of England. The East India Company was charged with salaries to be paid to the bishop and three archdeacons. Calcutta was then erected into a Bishop's see; and the eminent individual selected first to fill that important station, was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D. D., then archdeacon of Huntingdon. He was a man exceedingly well qualified for his station, by his learning and piety, and to him the world is indebted for one of the most learned works on the Greek article extant. Indeed, his work may be considered as standing alone, on this branch of philology; for, preceding critics had not directed their attention sufficiently to this subject, to give a full and satisfactory account of it. Literary eminence, however, was not that at which he aimed; for, though his memory was stored with all profane and civil literature, and he was ranked among the first critics of his age, and had an inexhaustible supply of lighter and more elegant learning, yet he sought only to be remembered as a faithful servant of his master. His work on the Greek article, will remain a monument of his learning, while biblical criticism shall be ranked among the sciences; but his enduring fame, is in the churches of the East. Bishop Middleton was consecrated on the 8th of May 1814, in the chapel of the Lambeth palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, on the 8th of June, accompanied by Mrs. Middleton and Archdeacon Loring, he sailed for Bengal. On the 28th of November of the same year, he arrived at Calcutta, and, from that time, was actively engaged in the duties of his calling, during nearly eight years. He died of a nervous fever, on the 8th of July 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. To the see of Calcutta, thus rendered vacant, Reginald Heber was appointed, on the 14th of May 1823; and, on the 16th of June, he embarked for Calcutta, which he reached early in October. The providence of God, however, had designed for him a short but active career. He suffered nothing to interfere with his duties as a Missionary Bishop. His labours are placed before the public, in the journal of his tour; and never has the self-sacrificing spirit of the devoted missionary, been more sublimely exemplified. Of his death, it has been beautifully said, "His sun was in its meridian power; and its warmth most genial, when it was suddenly eclipsed for ever. He fell, as the standard-bearer of the Cross should ever wish to fall, by no lingering delay, but in the firmness and vigour of his age, and in the very act of combat and triumph. His master came suddenly, and found him faithful in his charge, and waiting for his appearing. His last hour was spent in his Lord's service, and in ministering to the humblest of his flock. He had scarcely put off the sacred robes with which he served at the altar of his God on earth, when he was sudden-

ly admitted to his sanctuary on high, and clothed in the garments of immortality."\*

The volume which we now proceed particularly to notice, is introduced by a well prepared memoir, the work of a clergyman of Philadelphia. The materials appear to be faithfully collected, and judiciously arranged, and the author modestly disavows all merit, save that of arrangement.

The volume contains "Palestine," the prize poem of Heber, "Europe," several fugitive pieces—hymns which were intended for public worship, translations, both from Pindar and the Hindoostanee, and explanatory notes. The first of the poems, entitled "Palestine," is the largest and most important of the collection, considered in its literary aspect, for it is distinguished throughout by the classic chasteness and grace of its style—the simplicity of its plot, and the nice discrimination of its ornaments. It was recited in the University Theatre at Oxford, and first appeared in 1802,† in a work entitled "the Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry." The poem commences with a brief survey of the present wretched condition of the Holy Land—he then takes back the attention to the record of her past and almost forgotten glories; and concludes with a rather too rapid, but still felicitous description of those transcendent glories which are to characterize her future years, in those days of prophetic anticipation, when Judea's olive tree is to revive from the death of so many generations, and the sun once more illumine the heights of Carmel, and the cedars of Lebanon. We shall make brief extracts.

The opening lines are perhaps too abrupt, but easy and graceful; and the invocation to the "Warrior Sons of Heaven," with which the author precedes his brief view of the unhappy condition of the Holy Land, is of a fine order of poetry:—

"Ye guardian saints! ye Warrior Sons of Heaven,  
To whose high care Judea's state was given!  
O wont of old your nightly watch to keep,  
A host of gods on Sion's towery steep!  
If e'er your secret footsteps linger still  
By Siloa's fount, or Tabor's echoing hill;  
If e'er your songs on Salem's glory dwell,  
And mourn the captive land ye love so well;  
(For oft, 'tis said, in Kedron's palmy vale,  
Mysterious harpings swell the midnight gale,  
And, blest as balmy dews that Hermon cheer,  
Melt in soft cadence on the pilgrim's ear;)

\* Memoir prefixed to the volume under Review, p. lvii.

† In the "Memoir," it is stated, that "Palestine was written and recited in the University Theatre in 1803." We have now before us, the second edition of "the Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1802," which contains this poem of Heber, with a mass of trash by other hands, entirely unworthy of such good company. There is some chronological error, therefore, though where we are not able to tell.

Forgive, blest spirits, if a theme so high,  
Mock the weak notes of mortal minstrelsy !  
Yet, might your aid this mortal breast inspire,  
With one faint spark of Milton's seraph fire ;  
Then should my muse ascend with bolder flight,  
And wave her eagle plumes exulting in the light."

In these days of peace, and of peace societies, "the Warrior Sons of Heaven" may seem an unhappy phraseology, but the author successfully defends the term in a note, where he quotes from the sacred volume. In the first edition of "Palestine," which now lies before us, the term "warrior sage" was applied to Solomon, following the rich and fascinating descriptions of the Arabian mythology. In the present edition, we find the substitution of the term, "the kingly sage"—more agreeable to scripture certainly, but neither so harmonious in the verse, nor preserving so much unity in the action.

We have looked with an intense interest on one portion of the poem, because it was there, that we anticipated a failure, from the very nature of the subject. Splendid as is the celebrated picture of Christ healing the sick, by our countryman West, we apprehend, that, in most persons, there is a transient feeling of disappointment, when they contemplate the countenance of the master figure of the piece. This originates entirely from the undefined and indefinable associations connected with the character of the Saviour. It is not the fault of the painter ; it is the unapproachable sublimity of the subject. So of a portion of the "Palestine" of Heber. It is hardly possible even for the highest order of poetry to come up to the majesty and the mysterious sublimity of the crucifixion. If therefore there is failure at all, it is here. Still the transition from the peaceful and happy influences of the Messiah's advent, to the direful circumstances of his death, is conceived and executed with considerable effect :—

"Thou palsied earth, with noon-day night o'erspread !  
Thou sick'ning sun, so dark, so deep, so red !  
Ye hov'ring ghosts, that throng the starless air ;  
Why shakes the earth ? why fades the light ? declare !  
Are those his limbs, with ruthless scourges torn ?  
His brows all bleeding with the twisted thorn ?  
His the pale form, the meek forgiving eye,  
Rais'd from the cross in patient agony ?—  
Be dark, thou sun—thou noon-day night, arise,  
And hide, oh hide, the dreadful sacrifice !"

There is, towards the close of the poem, a brief invocation to the spirits of the Crusaders, and we allude to it rather to introduce the note of Bishop Heber, in which he very strikingly defends the Crusades from some common objections, and shows the benefit they have brought to Christianity, notwithstanding all that can reasonably be urged against them :—

"The world has been so long accustomed to hear the Crusades considered as the height of phrenzy and injustice, that to undertake their defence might be a hazardous task. We must however recollect, that, had it not been for these extraordinary exertions of human courage, the whole of Europe would perhaps have fallen, and Christianity been buried in its ruins. It was not, as Voltaire has falsely or weakly asserted, a conspiracy of robbers; it was not an unprovoked attack on a distant and inoffensive nation; it was a blow aimed at the heart of a most powerful and active enemy. Had not the Christian kingdoms of Asia been established as a check to the Mahometans, Italy, and the scanty remnant of Christianity in Spain, must again have fallen into their power; and France herself have needed all the heroism and good fortune of a Charles Martel, to deliver her from subjugation."

We have only room for the concluding lines of this poem, in which, after briefly depicting the present condition of the Holy Land, the author, following the track of inspiration, points out the future triumph of the Messiah:—

"Yet still destruction sweeps the lonely plain,  
And heroes lift the generous sword in vain.  
Still o'er her sky the clouds of anger roll,  
And God's revenge hangs heavy on her soul.  
Yet shall she rise;—but not by war restor'd,  
Not built in murder,—planted by the sword.  
Yes, Salem, thou shalt rise; thy Father's aid  
Shall heal the wound his chastening hand has made;  
Shall judge the proud oppressor's ruthless sway,  
And burst his brazen bonds, and cast his cords away.  
Then on your tops shall deathless verdure spring;  
Break forth, ye mountains, and ye valleys, sing!  
No more your thirsty rocks shall prove forlorn,  
The unbeliever's jest, the heathen's scorn;  
The sultry sands, shall tenfold harvest yield,  
And a new Eden deck the thorny field.  
E'en now, perchance, wide-waving o'er the land,  
That mighty angel lifts his golden wand,  
Courts the bright vision of descending power,  
Tells every gate, and measures every tower,  
And chides the tardy seals that yet detain  
Thy Lion, Judah, from his destin'd reign.

"And who is he? the vast, the awful form  
Girt with the whirlwind, sandal'd with the storm?  
A western cloud around his limbs is spread,  
His crown a rainbow, and a sun his head.  
To highest heaven he lifts his kingly hand,  
And treads at once the ocean and the land;  
And, hark! his voice amid the thunder's roar,  
His dreadful voice, that time shall be no more!  
Lo! cherub hands the golden courts prepare,  
Lo! thrones arise, and every saint is there;  
Earth's utmost bounds confess their awful sway,  
The mountains worship and the isles obey;  
Nor sun, nor moon, they need,—nor day, nor night;  
God is their temple, and the Lamb their light:  
And shall not Israel's sons exulting come,  
Hail the glad beam, and claim their ancient home?  
On David's throne shall David's offspring reign,  
And the dry bones be warm with life again.  
Hark! white-rob'd crowds their deep hosannas raise,  
And the hoarse flood repeats the song of praise;



Ten thousand harps attune the mystic song,  
 Ten thousand, thousand saints the strain prolong;  
 ' Worthy the Lamb! omnipotent to save,  
 Who died, who lives, triumphant o'er the grave! "

"Europe," though marked by the same classic elegance, and judicious arrangement, is a poem, the peculiar interest of which has already passed away. The prejudices, and the predilections of the author, will be most prominent in the mind of the reader, for the lapse of twenty years has destroyed all the warmth of those political associations, which must have given the poem, on its first appearance, an ephemeral popularity. We say not this, to detract from the merit of the work, as a literary production. It will, in this particular, bear a comparison with "Palestine," and, indeed, in some respects, may be considered its superior, an effort of the author's more matured taste and judgment; but as the subject has lost its greatest hold on our attention, the literary merit of the poem, will scarcely redeem it from comparative neglect. Apart from the by-gone interest of the subject, these are adventitious circumstances, which should, nevertheless, cause it to find peculiar favour in our eyes. Heber appears in it, the advocate of freedom, and an enthusiastic defender of those, who, through peril unto death, stood forth its champion. Unhappily, his sympathies appear wasted, and Spain has proved herself unworthy of his enthusiasm. Bonaparte is not the worst enemy she has ever had; and while we say it with deep regret, we are compelled to think that the epithets in the following line, are more like satire than truth, and its conclusion but a poor specimen of prophetic inspiration:—

"But Spain, the *brave*, the *virtuous*, shall be free."

It is the remark of a transatlantic critic "Troja fuit—there was a period when Spain was entitled to all the martial celebrity which the historian or the poet could bestow. But her spirit has decayed with her power, and now it is to be feared that she has neither virtue to deserve freedom, nor courage to win it."

There are, however, with all these disadvantages, many powerful passages; indeed, more powerful, because the very circumstances of the writer, amidst the scenes of his poem, caused him to pour forth his strains with peculiar feeling and enthusiasm. The whole soul of the author appears in the few concluding lines, which are marked by great energy and beauty, though they contain the line above quoted:—

"No! by his nerveless arm whose righteous care,  
 Defends the orphan's tear, the poor man's prayer;  
 Who, Lord of nature, o'er this changeable ball  
 Decrees the rise of empires, and the fall;  
 Wond'rous in all his ways, unseen, unknown,  
 Who treads the wine press of the world alone;  
 And rob'd in darkness, and surrounding fears,  
 Speeds on their destin'd road the march of years!"

No! shall yon Eagle, from the snare set free,  
 Stoop to thy wish, or cower his wing for thee?  
 And shall it tame despair, its strong control,  
 Or quench the nation's still reviving soul?  
 Go, bid the force of countless bands conspire  
 To curb the wand'ring wind, or grasp the fire!  
 Cast thy vain fetters on the troubled sea!  
 But Spain, the brave, the virtuous, shall be free!"

The faults of the poem are so few as scarcely to deserve our notice. There is but one essentially defective line, and that is so palpable, as to accentuation, that it will not escape the observation even of the most careless reader.

"Untam'd Austria bids her clarion sound."

Here, to preserve the rythm, it is necessary to place the accent on the second syllable. The only way of reading the line with any satisfaction to the ear, is to alter the form of the first word, and read it

"Untamed Austria," &c. —————

Our author is by far too fond of the Alexandrine—it recurs in almost every dozen lines of the poem.

Among the miscellaneous poems in the volume, will be found a magnificent description of the passage of the Red Sea, too long to quote in this place, and of a character which does not well admit of extract. We have also "Lines spoken in the Theatre, Oxford, on Lord Grenville's installation as Chancellor."—"An Epitaph on a Young Naval Officer;" "An Evening's Walk in Bengal," and "Lines to his Wife," while on a visit to Upper India. These "Lines," are so exquisitely beautiful, and so full of heart, that we cannot resist the pleasure of presenting them to our readers, before we proceed to notice the concluding portion of the volume:—

"If thou wert by my side, my love!  
 How fast would evening sail,  
 In green Bengala's palmy grove,  
 Listening the nightingale!  
 If thou, my love! wert by my side,  
 My babies on my knee,  
 How quickly would our pinnace glide  
 O'er Gunga's mimic sea!  
 I miss thee at the dawning gray,  
 When, on our deck reclin'd,  
 In careless ease my limbs I lay,  
 And woo the cooler wind.  
 I miss thee when by Gunga's stream  
 My twilight steps I guide,  
 But most beneath the lamp's pale beam,  
 I miss thee from my side.  
 I spread my books, my pencil try,  
 The lingering noon to cheer,  
 But miss thy kind approving eye,  
 Thy meek attentive ear.

But when of morn and eve the star  
Beholds me on my knee,  
I feel, tho' thou art distant far,  
Thy prayers ascend for me.  
Then on! then on! where duty leads,  
My course be onward still,  
On broad Hindostan's sultry meads,  
O'er black Almorah's hill.  
That course, nor Delhi's kingly gates,  
Nor wild Malwah detain,  
For sweet the bliss us both awaits,  
By yonder western main.  
Thy bowers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say,  
Across the dark blue sea,  
But ne'er were hearts so light and gay,  
As then shall meet in thee."

Some minor fugitive pieces follow, but we have no more room for extracts of this kind.

The portion of the volume which comes next under our observation, is that which contains the Hymns intended for public worship. No reader of these, will doubt the general beauty of their formation; but, we apprehend, that there are very few, but who will doubt their adaptation to the purposes for which they were intended. If we may venture on a subject which would appear more appropriate to some ecclesiastical assembly, than the pages of a literary journal, we would observe, that, as to what is appropriate to public worship, there is a very general, though perfectly palpable, mistake, in all the collections of hymns which have come under our notice. If our views are correct, public worship consists of prayer and praise; the former, comprising all the varieties of penitential expression, and all the modes of supplication; the latter, confined more particularly to the expression of the grateful feelings of the heart. What has mere narration to do with the act, either of prayer or of praise? And yet there are many hymns which are nothing more than sacred history rendered into verse. There can be no feelings of approach to the Supreme Being in this—neither can there be any hymn, or psalm, which is made up of mere pious truisms, however delicately and elegantly expressed. There are very few of the hymns of this collection, but what are obnoxious to this objection; and, moreover, we believe, that a collection which should maintain the perfect consistency of devotion, is yet unknown to any denomination of Christians. We will illustrate this remark, by one or two instances:—

*The Fourth Sunday in Advent.*

"The world is grown old, and her pleasures are past;  
The world is grown old, and her form may not last;  
The world is grown old and trembles for fear;  
For sorrows abound and the judgment is near!

The sun in the heaven is languid and pale;  
 And feeble and few are the fruits of the vale,  
 And the hearts of the nations fail them for fear,  
 For the world is grown old and the judgment is near!  
 The king on his throne, the bride in her bower,  
 The children of pleasure all feel the sad hour;  
 The roses are faded and tasteless the cheer,  
 For the world is grown old and the judgment is near!  
 The world is grown old!—but should we complain,  
 Who have tried her, and know that her promise is vain;  
 Our heart is in heaven, our home is not here,  
 And we look for our crown when judgment is near."

This is in a pacing, undignified measure, totally unsuited to the grandeur of the subject; and, except that the sentiment is pious, we see nothing in a hymn of this kind, which bears the remotest relationship to the peculiarities of worship; as another instance of the same class, we give the following truly beautiful lines, entitled "Epiphany:"—

"Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!  
 Dawn on the darkness and lend us thine aid!  
 Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
 Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid!  
 Cold on his cradle the dew drops are shining,  
 Low lies his head with the beasts of the stall,  
 Angels adore him in slumber reclining,  
 Maker and Monarch and Saviour of all!  
 Say, shall we yield him, in costly devotion,  
 Odours of Edom and offerings divine?  
 Gems of the mountain and pearls of the ocean,  
 Myrrh from the forest, or gold from the mine?  
 Vainly we offer each ampler oblation;  
 Vainly with gifts would his favour secure:  
 Richer by far is the heart's adoration,  
 Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.  
 Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!  
 Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid!  
 Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
 Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid!"

We would ask, where is the prayer and where is the praise of this Hymn? if there is in it devotion at all, it is a fervent application to the "Star of the East"—for its guiding light to find the place of the Redeemer's birth, and would consequently seem rather Sabeanism than Christianity. As a contrast to these, by which our meaning will be distinctly understood, we give the following hymn for "Christmas Day:"—

"Oh, Saviour, whom this holy morn  
 Gave to our world below;  
 To mortal want and labour born,  
 And more than mortal wo!  
 Incarnate word! by every grief,  
 By each temptation tried,  
 Who lived to yield our ills relief,  
 And to redeem us died!"



If gaily clothed and proudly fed,  
In dangerous wealth we dwell,  
Remind us of thy manger bed,  
And lowly cottage cell!

If prest by poverty severe,  
In envious want we pine,  
Oh may thy spirit whisper near,  
How poor a lot was thine!

Thro' fickle fortune's various scene  
From sin preserve us free!  
Like us thou hast a mourner been,  
May we rejoice in thee!"

In the whole collection of the hymns written for the weekly service of the church, there are but four or five, which, in our opinion, are at all appropriate. They are generally very beautiful, and show the taste and the fine feeling of piety which dwelt in the breast of the writer, but are not calculated either to excite or to express that species of devotional fervour, which seems so intimately connected with an act of worship. The whole seem to us to be better suited to form a class, which might be appropriately termed "Sacred Melodies," and which, set to music, might fill up the interval between the popular songs, to which some religious persons object, and those "hymns" which are manifestly devotional. To us, there appears not only impropriety, but impiety, in a hymn sung for the amusement of a miscellaneous company; and for many a religionist who would be shocked at his daughter's amusing her friends with an "Irish melody," and yet have no reluctance to her *showing off her accomplishments* in a hymn, or anthem, is to us very much like "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel." Such poems as these hymns of Heber, generally, maintain a middle ground, full of pious sentiment, yet not rising into the sublimity of prayer or praise, and admirably suited, if judiciously arranged and adapted to music, as we have said, to form a class which shall be peculiarly attractive, because no piety could be offended, but, on the other hand, the taste and the heart improved. Besides the hymns, there are a few translations of Pindar admirably executed, but each too long for quotation. There are some short translations from the Hindoostanee, one of which we will give.

*Sonnet by the late Nawab of Oude, Asuf ud Doula.*

In those eyes the tears that glisten as in pity for my pain,  
Are they gems or only dew drops? can they, will they long remain?

Why thy strength of tyrant beauty thus, with seeming ruth, restrain,  
Better breathe my last before thee, than in lingering grief remain!

To yon planet, Fate has given every month to wax and wane:  
And—thy world of blushing brightness—can it, will it long remain?

Health and youth in balmy moisture, on thy cheek their seat maintain;  
But—the dew that steeps the rose bud—can it, will it long remain?

Asuf! why, in mournful numbers, of thine absence thus complain,  
Chance has joined us, chance has parted—nought on earth can long remain.

In the world may'st thou beloved! live exempt from grief and pain!  
On my lips the breath is fleeting—can it, will it long remain?

On the whole, we look upon Bishop Heber rather as a chaste and delicate and classic poet, than as distinguished by any strong marks of genius. He appears to us to have been made, not born a poet. It is to his matchless "Journal," that he is to be indebted for his lasting fame, as most acute and accurate in observation, and most interesting in description; and it is for his self-sacrificing spirit as a missionary Bishop, that his memory will be cherished by all to whose hearts the cause of Christianity is dear. We know not how better to close our protracted remarks, than by the following extract from the tribute to the memory of Bishop Heber, by Amelia Opie, which, with two others of not equal merit, have been attached to the memoir with which this volume commences:—

"Here hushed be my lay for a far sweeter verse—  
Thy requiem I'll breathe in thy numbers alone,  
For the bard's votive offering to hang on thy hearse,  
Shall be formed of no language less sweet than thy own.

"Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,  
Since God was thy refuge, thy ransom, thy guide;  
He gave thee, he took thee, and he will restore thee,  
And death has no sting, since the Saviour has died.'"

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ART. II.—*Malaria: An Essay on the Production and Propagation of this Poison, and on the Nature and Localities of the places by which it is produced.* By JOHN M'CULLOCH, M. D. F. R. S. *Physician in ordinary to his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourgh.* Svo. pp. 480: 1827.

DR. JOHN M'CULLOCH, is not the political economist, but the geologist; in which character he enjoys a well-earned fame. The present volume, however, may well be considered as a chapter on political economy, if that science may be regarded as embracing the means of diminishing disease and death, encouraging a healthy, instead of a morbid population, and obviating the greatest source of destruction in every military expedition. The facts and reasonings contained in this work, though medical, are not technical; and are such as every man in the community, reasonably educated, may understand and decide upon; and which every man in the community is deeply interested in knowing.

Miasma, marsh-exhalation, malaria, is something which originates from swampy, marshy, moist ground, wherein vegetables

\* Written by Bishop Heber, on the death of a friend, see page 163.

having grown, die and putrefy. In Italy, the localities of such putrefying vegetables, go by the name of *maremmes*; and the infectious matter there generated, when mixed with the atmosphere, is malaria, bad air. The general conditions necessary to produce it, are, a warm temperature of the atmosphere, and dead vegetables putrefying in a moist place. Vegetables that die and become disorganized in cold weather, do not appear to produce this infectious malaria; nor do vegetables that die, and are dried up by heat, in a dry place. Nor do we find it in places bare of vegetation, unless vegetable matter, liable to putrefy, be found there accidentally, or brought there purposely. Nor do we find this miasmatic air prevalent in the winter season; the months of July, August, and September, including, in warm climates, one half of October, are the seasons when this pestilence chiefly prevails. But, it has been observed, that places producing remittent fevers in the fall, are liable to produce intermittents in spring. Places completely covered with water, do not produce malaria, although the margins of such places do.

This poison is now usually supposed to be a gas, acting by its chemical properties; by others, it is presumed to be an exhalation, effluvium, or odour; the ancient opinion, at present not considered as worth investigation, is, that the deleterious quality of the air impregnated with it, is owing to animalculæ. All these theories we shall consider by and by.

The book contains eleven chapters, of which we shall give a brief analysis.

Ch. 1. *On the effects of Malaria, and the utility of knowledge relating to it.*

Few people are aware of the extent to which malaria affects us. It is the source of more than half the diseases to which the human race is subject, and of more than half the mortality which depopulates mankind. It seems to be the angel of destruction, ordained to maintain the necessary proportion between population and the means of subsistence. It detracts one half from the value of life in Holland;—at least as much, and probably more, in Italy, where the *maremmes* extend two hundred miles, from Leghorn to Terracina, having a breadth, according to Chateaufieu, of forty miles; besides the pestilence of Rome and its neighbourhood, which threatens with dreadful probability, in less than half a century, to reduce that former mistress of the world to a desert.

“Let us turn to Italy, (says Dr. McCulloch :) the fairest portions of this fair land are a prey to this invisible enemy; its fragrant breezes are poison; the dews of its summer evenings are death. The banks of its refreshing streams, its rich and flowing meadows, the borders of its glassy lakes, the luxuriant plains of its overflowing agriculture, the valley where its aromatic shrubs regale the eye and perfume the air; these are the chosen seats of this plague, the throne

of Malaria. Death here walks hand in hand with the sources of life, sparing none; the labourer reaps his harvest but to die, or he wanders amid the luxury of vegetation and wealth, the ghost of a man, a sufferer from his cradle to his impending grave; aged even in childhood, and laying down in misery, that life, which was but one disease."

This eloquent representation, is fully corroborated by M. Chateauvieu, in his *Account of the Agriculture of Italy*, from Pisa, p. 87, to Naples, p. 102. See Rigby's *Translation of Chateauvieu's Agricultural Travels into Italy*.

The chances of life in England, are variously calculated from forty to fifty years. In many parts of Holland, they are not more than about twenty-five. In many places of France, they are reduced by malaria to twenty and eighteen years. Sicily and Sardinia, and much of Greece, are similarly affected. Lincolnshire, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, are known seats of this pestilence in England. Oliver Cromwell died of it: and although we are become much better acquainted with its effects, and its habits, than formerly, great ignorance still prevails, even in England, on this interesting subject. People are not yet aware of the many situations pregnant with latent disease, where danger is not suspected; nor are they aware of the anomalous forms of indistinct, but painful suffering, attributable to this cause, where the absence of intermittent or remittent diseases induces a dangerous confidence and security.\* Nor are the rich aware how much their own health and comfort depend on enforcing and maintaining cleanliness among the poor. They are not aware of the heavy price they pay for artificial lakes, and ornamental pieces of water, for reservoirs and fish ponds, and thick shrubberies, damp with luxuriant vegetation, near the principal mansion; or the danger too often attending the delightful rambles on the banks and borders of such places, in the cool of a summer's evening in August and September.

Nor are we sufficiently aware, either in England or in this country, that in travelling for health, the valetudinarian, in a majority of cases, on the continent of Europe, is apt to fix on situations exposed to this fertile source of disease and death. Nor has yet any good list of places on the continent been published, (Captain Smith's *Statistical Tables of Sicily* excepted,) the ac-

\* Dr. M'Culloch is inclined to ascribe to this cause, the following list of disorders.—Yellow, remittent, intermittent, and nervous fever. Dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera, visceral obstructions. Dropsy, œdema, obstructions of the liver and spleen. Neuralgia, and, in particular, that form of it, the *tic doloieux*; to which we would be strongly inclined to add the dengue of the Havana and Charleston. Scrofula and goitre. Hebetude of intellect, and general lassitude; a Bœotian diathesis. Rickets, hernia, rheumatism, sciatica, tooth-ache, asthma, peripneumony, dyspepsia. Palsy, phthisis, chlorosis, are doubtful. Not that these disorders, or any of them, do not in many cases originate from other causes, but that they are in many cases fairly ascribable to the effects of malaria or miasma.



curate result of observations made with a medical eye, which the sick may consult with confidence, and in safety, without the hazard so often incurred, of meeting disease and death in an additional form abroad, while they are trying to escape them at home.

To be tolerably well informed of the nature and character of a poison so fatal when concentrated, so destructive of bodily comfort, when we are exposed to it, even in a diluted state, and to be aware of the places liable to produce it, cannot but be important to every member of society, without exception. It forms the most prominent feature in the police of health. To give some correct, but general ideas of this too common, but unsuspected source of so many disorders, the present volume has been written; and, although many persons will be inclined to think that Dr. M'Culloch has carried his fears and denunciations to a needless extent, we are persuaded, that the fault, if a fault there be, is a fault on the right side; nor do we know of any medical treatise, (if this may be called one,) so generally interesting, and so much needed in the present state of public inattention, as the book now before us. Even in our own country, without recurring to the swamps of the Carolinas, or the eastern shore of our seaboard, from Jersey to Georgia, how many of our cities, Philadelphia and New-York, for instance, abound in their outskirts with marshy places, puddles, ponds, and receptacles of vegetable filth, to which, in addition to the banks of rivers and streams, no physician will hesitate to refer the intermittents and remittents of our autumnal seasons. In fact, what at New-Orleans will produce yellow fever, in Virginia will give rise to bilious remittents; in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, to agues, dysenteries, cholera, and diarrhœa. We do not say, that the many of the numerous tribe of disorders originating from the cause now under consideration, are to be attributed to it exclusively, but it is the usual and general source of them; and it behooves the public to be aware of this: the treatise now under consideration, therefore, is, in our opinion, most important and most welcome.

Nor is it the mere production of individual disease that forms the great mischief of malaria. Mr. Foderé, in his *Traité de Medecine legale*, t. v. ch. i. observes, that it stints and debilitates the population, even where there is no particular disease.

Ch. 2. *Nature of the evidences respecting the production of Malaria in places of less suspected character.*

Among travelled men of education, as well as among physicians, no doubt remains of intermittent and remittent fevers and dysenteries, being the consequence of moist and marshy places, where vegetables grow and die, and are enabled to putrefy by the warmth of the climate or season: but, among the common

people, and those unused to reflect, these disorders are generally confounded with typhus, or attributed to exposure to cold, to damp, to fatigue, to too much indulgence in summer fruits, or to any cause but the true one. Not that improper diet may not easily aggravate the influence of other causes, or become of itself a source of disease, but the general and prevailing cause of our intermittent fevers is malaria; and of this, among medical men, there is no doubt or dispute. Whenever, therefore, these, or analogous diseases, are observed to prevail, the source of them is the same, even if no marsh, swamp, or pond, be near the place. Some current of air blowing from a marsh, or some other collection of putrefying vegetable substance, less subject to common observation, is undoubtedly in the neighbourhood.

In addition to Dr. M'Culloch's remarks on this head, we would observe, that the stench so often arising in summer from the gutters and drains of all our Atlantic cities, from New-York to Charleston—the practice of piling up damp wood in damp cellars, in the summer and autumn, when fuel is cheap—the carelessness of disposing of the waste vegetables of a family—the filth of alleys and by-places—and other unsuspected causes of this nature, may produce, if not actually fevers of a marked character, yet disorders, irritations, and obstructions of the functions, that often render life uncomfortable, without having their nosological names precisely given. For want of diffused knowledge on this subject, attention is turned from the true to false causes, as giving rise to these disorders, and remedies are applied in vain. Much indefinable ill health, and many of the numerous complaints termed nervous and dyspeptic—many of the pains and aches attributed to rheumatism, would be referred to the cause in question, by physicians whose attention had been duly turned to it.

"An acute and unprejudiced observer," says Dr. M'Culloch, p. 22, "taking this view as his guide, may easily satisfy himself of the real nature of the *ill health*, in the situations under review: but he will also find, that this does not constitute the whole of the diseases thus produced; as, if he will review his own practice on such inhabitants, he will find dysentery, often or generally, called diarrhœa, one of the prevailing elements, and, perhaps, cholera: together with headaches, periodical, or irregular rheumatism of the face or head, as it is called, tooth-ache, sciatica, with tic doreux, or other varieties of neuralgia, (Dengue?) bilious affections, as the phrase is, and a whole catalogue of all the nervous ailments, which, at different periods, under different fashions, have been attributed to various causes, to the nerves, the spleen, the stomach, the liver, and now, in the more convenient phraseology, to the chylipoietic organs.

"The whole condition, in fact, (p. 24,) of a people so situated as I have now sketched it, is precisely that of the inhabitants of the pestiferous districts of France, Italy, and elsewhere; since in these, and independently of the noted epidemics, or the occasional severe or marked fevers, the population is, perennially, and even through life, subject to a whole catalogue of chronic ailments: the only difference being, that in our own, (British,) far less unwholesome districts, of a similar character, these are less violent, and commonly also less perennial and durable."

If the spots in question are known occasionally to produce the common intermittent, it is ground enough for us to ascribe the other forms of malady, observed in the same situations, to the same cause. But, the intermittent of spring, and the remittent of autumn, are not always produced in places where we should make no scruple to assign the usual cause of these disorders; visceral and glandular obstructions are frequent substitutes: nor does this cause *always* produce the effect expected. This may arise from the state of health of the inhabitants, and from idiosyncracies; for, the rule is universal, *quicquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis*: every prevailing endemic and epidemic, is modified by the constitution and diathesis of the individual, and attacks usually the weakest system of organs. But our knowledge of marsh miasma, and its mode of operation, is at present too much in its infancy, to authorize a demand upon us to explain all the apparent anomalies.

As persons who have once been subject to the effects of malaria, and afflicted with the disorders it produces, are more susceptible than other people, of being again affected by similar causes, their being so affected in any particular locality, is reasonable ground to suspect the same cause operating there, though the common disorders produced by it, have not been observed among the inhabitants in general, in any precise way, or with marked character.

The effects of malaria are not always marked and sudden; they often come on gradually; they affect the functions, then the constitution, and induce at length a morbid diathesis, till constant exposure to the source of disease ends ultimately in death. In the fens of Lincolnshire and Essex, on the banks of the Rhone and the Loire, at Mantua, Ferrara, Syracuse, Cagliari; even in the Campania of Rome, and the banks of the Tiber, children are born, and live; but they live usually a life of suffering, and die long before the usual period of healthy old age. Such are the facts: why the cause is so tardy and gradual in its operation, we shall know better, in proportion as our observations are more frequently and accurately repeated.

Ch. 3. *On the soils and situations that most commonly produce Malaria.*

It has been supposed that salt marshes are not productive of malaria. This is a mistake. They are so in Normandy, on the French shores of the Mediterranean, on the Adriatic: they are so in Greece, Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia: in Spain, in the Crimea, and throughout the southern part of Europe. The proportion of salt in sea water, may contribute to resist putrefaction in cold climates, and it may have a different effect in warm ones. In Holland, the severest seasons of fever have succeeded irrup-



tions of the sea. It is safer to be alive to the possible danger, sustained as it is, by so many facts of a positive nature.

Thick woods are productive of the malaria fevers. The Jungle is a low thicket of reeds and grass, where vegetation is rank, and where the ground is of course moist. Of the Jungle fever, it is superfluous to say more. According to Buchanan, even the more open woods in Mysore and other parts of India, are not exempt from a similar objection. In our own country, (the United States,) we have never heard of open woods being liable to this objection; although in South Carolina, every body is alive to the danger of close, thick, and luxuriant vegetation. The pine barrens are always healthy, if no marsh or pond be near. But the neighbourhood of close and thick woods, producing putrefying vegetable matter, is every where found to be more or less unhealthy. No Southern man entertains a doubt of this.

Sometimes, woods are a screen, preventing the propagation of malaria. The ancients held groves to be sacred, aware perhaps of this use of them. The unhealthiness of the *Porta del populo* at Rome, arose from cutting down a wood that served as a screen to that part of the city. The dreadful fever affecting the first settlers of the Genesee country, from 1796 to 1800, arose from their clearing and settling the rich bottom land. In the early part of our wooded country, unhealthy situations were limited in extent; at present, malaria is wafted to great distances, putting on an epidemic character: and it will be so, till accurate cultivation shall have drained all our marshy spots. The clearing and breaking up of new ground among us, is an operation often attended by the diseases of marsh miasma. Hence, we have no doubt, that, as the country is laid open, and the climate rendered warmer by more free exposure to the sun's rays, the diseases formerly limited and confined, will be not so severe, perhaps, owing to dilution, but more numerous, and extend over a much larger tract of country than heretofore. Such was the case of the fever of the Shenandoah valley, from Winchester through Carlisle, and to Easton, in 1804.

Rice grounds in India, in Italy, in our Southern country, are peculiarly unhealthy, though this has strangely been denied in India. No planter of our Southern states, would doubt it for a moment. Obstructions of the liver, and other viscera, may take place sometimes in lieu of bilious remittents, but what physician in the South has any doubts about the cause?

Ch. 4. *The same subject continued.*

Malaria may be concentrated in the spot where it is generated, or it may be diluted, when wafted to a distance.\* The inten-

\* Dr. Rush was of opinion, that the severe remittent and bilious fevers of a marsh, were converted into intermittents, when diluted and carried to elevated places in the neighbourhood.



sity and the type of the disorder produced by it, will vary with its dilution, which may be such as to render it inert. Whether the kind of plants whose putrefaction produces it, has any effect, is not known. The poisonous effects of putrefying flax, hemp, indigo, coffee, potatoes, are well known in the storehouses on the wharves of New-York and Philadelphia. Perhaps this more deadly character may be owing to confinement and concentration. That the cellars under the houses in Charleston, frequently flooded, are also a frequent cause of disease, is nearly certain.

Peat lands, when liable to putrefying decomposition, are productive of malaria, but generally they do not undergo the putrefactive process.

All land productive of rushes, of coarse grass, of the water-flag, the *Equisetum*, and the *Hydrocotyle*—land where the trees canker, and the soil is soft and boggy, requiring drainage—require it as much for the purpose of preventing disease, as to increase the value of the produce. This remark will extend to the moist and swampy places of high ground, and elevated moorlands, unless the climate be cold. Even in Wales, a number of labourers being employed to clear some ground of this description, 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, one-half of them were seized with ague. M'Culloch seems inclined to extend this reasoning to meadow lands, not boggy or marshy, but intersected with ditches and water drains. In an inferior degree, and sometimes much more, this undoubtedly is so. See his enumeration, pp. 74. 84. 93, noting especially the dry soils of Walcheren, and the *Campagna di Roma*, full of ditches and drains.

That the banks of streams and rivers are liable to intermittents and remittents, the history of disease in the middle states, and so far as we hear throughout the United States and Canada, while we are writing, (September 1828,) will abundantly testify. In fact, no traveller, no medical man, has ever entertained a doubt on this point. Disease may, from causes not yet well ascertained, be sometimes more, sometimes less prevalent, and more or less violent; but, in one degree or other, it exists in these situations, particularly from July to October.

The number of canals made, and now making throughout the United States, may contribute to improve internal commerce, but they will not improve the health of the country through which they pass.

Mill dams are well known to us,\* as productive of disease: so is the process of water-rotting hemp.

\* The destruction of the mill dam at Harrisburgh, many years ago, by the people of that place rising en masse, and forcibly abating an intolerable nuisance, is well remembered there, as it is within our own knowledge and recollection.

The drainage of swamps and marshes, is at first, and till they be put into complete cultivation, a source of disease undoubted. So, according to our author, is the breaking up of old pastures for tillage. In Italy, France, and England, the subject begins to be understood better than formerly; and the draining of marsh land, meets with governmental encouragement, whenever it is needed, in France in particular. The ague in London, so common in Sydenham's days, is now almost unknown.

Ch. 5. *On certain obscure and disputed cases relating to the production of Malaria.*

Disquisition on the ancient and modern state of Rome and its neighbourhood, with respect to malaria and drainage.

Ch. 6. *On revolutions and changes in the production of Malaria, from natural or artificial causes.*

These may take place, either by draining the marsh, or by covering it with water: in this last case, the edges of vegetation next to the water level, are alone deleterious; putrefaction not taking place under absolute submersion. Where lakes, ponds, canals, marshes, are apt to fall to a lower level in summer time, the exposed borders become sources of malaria.

Temporary inundations, are extremely deleterious when the waters recede: as at the subsidence of the Nile in Egypt, the inundations of the river Euphrates at Bassorah, the same of the Foglia at Pesaro in 1708, the inundations of the Rhone, the Vire, &c. in France, the Tiber at Rome, the Danube, and the Don. All these are facts of notoriety, and undisputed.

The gradual increase of alluvial soil at the mouths of rivers, owing to the wearing down of the high lands of the interior, deposited in the form of alluvial mud, as at the mouth of the Po in Italy, the great plains thus formed of Bengal, Mississippi, Orinoko, &c. increase gradually the marshy soil, and compel the retrocession of the sea. These geological changes, undoubted as to the fact, are at the bottom of the reasonings of Hutton and Playfair, as to the gradual interchange and alternation of land and sea.

Changes of the relative situation of land and sea, by means of earthquakes, as in Calabria, (and the Pacific shore of some parts of South America recently,) will account for changes in the salubrity of those places. These changes on the borders of the ocean, sometimes by encroachment, at others, by retrocession, are followed by correspondent changes in the salubrity of the localities: and these changes are continually taking place.

Ch. 7. *On the propagation of Malaria.*

The author states his opinion, that whatever malaria may be originally, in combination with atmospheric air it is a chemical compound, acting and acted upon, and sometimes destroyed by chemical agents and affinities. Malaria, then, according to M'Cul-

loch, is a compound of nitrogen, oxygen, hygrometric vapour, and a basis of deleterious character—miasma; governed by the laws of motion that affect the atmosphere generally. Hence, in some states of the atmosphere, it may be more abundant than in others; nor until we know (which as yet we do not) the laws that govern atmospheric currents, can we account accurately for its presence or absence in certain places.

It is capable of being *attached* to solid substances, as vegetables; and probably to the soil itself. There is no sufficient evidence of its being united to solid substances, or transferable by their means, or regenerated through the medium of a diseased body like contagion. There is no sufficient evidence that the plague is the produce of malaria, for it has all the properties of contagion in its propagation and reproduction. (In this opinion, we do not exactly coincide with our author. Malaria originates from marshy soil all about Constantinople, and it is yearly producible in Egypt on the subsidence of the Nile. May it not be combined with animal filth? The question is very doubtful.)

In the propagation of malaria, the place of its first production ought to be most deleterious, unless where it is wafted away by breezes or currents of air. Sometimes, a house on the very bank of an unhealthy river, will be comparatively healthy, while places, even high grounds, at a distance, will be affected; manifestly because it is transported thither by breezes or currents of air. But generally, habitations fixed in low and damp grounds, must be unhealthy. This has been totally overlooked in Calcutta, Batavia, Havana, La Vera Cruz, St. Lucia, New-Orleans; and many other places.

It has been, for the most part, too much neglected in military encampments; thus, our author observes, 10,000 men were lost by malaria at Walcheren. When the French invaded Naples in 1528, they were reduced in a few days, from 28,000 to 4000, by an injudicious encampment at Baiæ. The Scotch regiment at Sluys, buried their whole number in three years.—(Lind on the diseases of hot climates, 25.) We can all remember the loss of the French in their invasion of St. Domingo. Other cases to this purpose are brought forward by our author, pp. 230. 234.

To the malaria of the Alpine valleys, we think the Goitre may be fairly attributed; but the prevalence of that deformity, from the shores of Lake Erie northward, to Washington county southward, in Pennsylvania, and the Derbyshire neck, throw difficulties in the way of this explanation, that we are not yet able to encounter.

In p. 241, Dr. M. discusses at length, the case well or ill-founded, that spots of marshy ground produce disease at a distance, more remarkably, than on the spot itself. This can be accounted for, by winds, or by atmospheric currents, but in no

other way. Of the atmospheric currents, sometimes vertical, not unfrequently unconnected with the general direction of the prevailing wind, we know, as yet, but little. But, if malaria be generated in a marsh, it must act in the marsh, if it be not blown away. This appears to us *a priori* too manifest to be controverted.

"In Italy, it has been ascertained that the poisonous exhalations of the Lake Agnano, reach as far as the convent of Camaldoli, situated on a high hill, at the distance of three miles; proving, that in this instance at least, malaria can be conveyed thus far by winds. In France, at Neuville les Dames, above Chatillon on the Indre, and at St. Paul near Villars, both situated on high grounds, there are found as many or more fevers, than in the marshes beneath, where the malaria is produced, and the same is generally true all through Bresse in the Lyonnais. Thus also, the plain of Trappes near Versailles, is affected by the marshes of St. Cyr, though considerably elevated above them."

Dr. M'Culloch details many other instances of the transportation of malaria to a distance from its place of generation, pp. 243—247, and 308—336.

In addition to Dr. M'Culloch's remarks, we would add, M. Rigaud de l'Isle, near Rome, establishes, as he thinks, the height of safety from 682 to 1006 feet above the situation. Dr. Ferguson, we recollect, observes that Monk's Hill, in Antigua, 600 feet high perpendicularly, is quite exempt. On the Ridge, a sloping hill, 300 feet high above the marshes, the yellow fever of the marsh disappears, and the common remittent takes its place; while at the top of the Ridge, 500 feet high, the troops were exempt from disease. (Quoted by Dr. Annesley in his book on the diseases of India, p. 79.) Dr. Annesley also remarks, that it is arrested by plantations of trees, and that it is diluted by distance. 79. 81.

Again, as to heights; Tivoli, less unhealthy by far than Rome, is 300 feet above Rome. Sezza, exempt from disease, is 900 feet above the Pontine marshes. Ercero, 920 yards above La Vera Cruz, according to Humboldt, is exempt from the fevers of the lower land. Monfalcon assigns 5 or 600 yards.

In Columbia, South Carolina, the side of the main street next the river, is much more affected with disease in the usual autumnal season, than other more distant parts of the town, or even than the side of the same street opposite. The street itself, is one mile from the river, and 200 feet above it, but the trees between the street and the river are nearly cut down. Hence, it appears that the side nearest the river, serves as a fence and screen to the side of the same street opposite. So, the centre of a large town, in seasons of epidemic remittent, is usually much safer than the country about it; which explains Dr. S. Jackson's most ingenious and successful experiment of shutting out the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1820, by a board fence from 10 to 12 feet high.

The cutting down of woods, that form a screen between ha-



bitations and a marsh, has always been attended with the propagation of disease: but where the screen of trees is beyond the source of malaria, and prevents the prevailing winds from blowing upon and diluting it, or carrying it off, the cutting down of such trees may have a bad effect. Among the ancients, groves were sacred places; perhaps from the good effect of them in respect of unhealthy breezes. Our author gives several details on this subject, pages 249, &c.; and a very interesting account of the course and progress of malaria in the city of Rome; which seems to be founded on precise information.

That ancient Rome suffered from malaria, is evident from many passages in ancient authors; but, in a populous country, the course and propagation of malaria are counteracted by the numerous habitations forming screens to each other, and obstructing the communication of this source of disease.

The matter of malaria, is connected with fogs, vapour, mist, and a moist atmosphere generally. This is universally acknowledged. It is matter of common observation, that it is more easily propagated by means of a moist atmosphere. Dr. Annesley (Researches on India, p. 81,) says it is absorbed by rivers. It is far more easily propagated by the damps of the night air, and by morning dews, than in mid day. This was Dr. Rush's statement to us, as it is, in fact, the commonly received opinion of all medical men. Annesley's Researches on the diseases of India, 4to. 74. According to M'Culloch, 273, the east wind of England brings the malaria from Holland; while in Artois in Flanders, the sea breeze dissipates it. The same rule holds good in the Mediterranean. Mere moisture in a healthy country is never injurious; but when impregnated with miasma, it bears disease on its wings. A dry air is seldom a conductor of miasma. The Italians say, that however deleterious the *evening* air may be, the *night* air after 10 o'clock, is not so. Travellers in Italy, however, are always warned not to give way to sleep while in their carriage at night. Hence, the dangerous character of evening rambles in the meadows, by brooks, and purling streams, rivers, lakes, &c. in the summer and autumn. They are pleasant indeed, but those who enjoy them, run the risk of paying dearly for their gratification.

It seems that in the damp climate of Holland, a stimulus of a moderate dram of brandy or other ardent spirit, taken in the morning with a crust of bread, where you are compelled to go out early, is a reasonable preventive: and, in general, a generous diet, avoiding excess both in eating and drinking, contributes to maintain health in malaria countries. This is of universal remark in Europe and our own country.

Fires in the rooms in the evenings and mornings, even of summer and autumn, while the dew is on the ground, are of undoubt-

ed use: nor in our own country are the backwoodsmen averse to having their fires accompanied with smoke, to keep off the insects. This is in conformity to the advice of Pliny, who cites Empedocles and Hippocrates: Lancisi also gives the same advice as to fires during the damp air, p. 286, where Dr. M'Culloch gives a detailed instance of the good effects of fires on the coast of Africa, in preventing the swamp fever.

Repletion, particularly a full meal taken during the heat of the day, in a hot climate, predisposes to disease. This was particularly ascertained in Africa, by Major Denham, and is quite probable in itself. Our author sets this point in full light, by the case he cites, 288-291. His account of the benefit of crowded streets, instancing the quarter of the Jews, (the Judaicum) at Rome, is liable to objection, if not to great doubt. That numerous streets, well built up, and kept clean, should be a screen and preservative against malaria, may well be admitted, both from reason and experience; but that it should produce the same good effects, when accompanied by a filthy population, filthy habitations, and filthy streets, is not at once admissible. Nor do we agree to the conclusiveness of the following passage, p. 293.

"Malaria must be a chemical compound; and therefore decomposable: it is experimentally decomposed by fire and smoke; and it is therefore probable, that, amid the unknown mixture which forms the atmosphere of crowded streets or habitations, it is actually destroyed." We shall by and by endeavour to show, that it is not a chemical compound; and give a different explanation of the uses of fire and smoke, when employed to destroy it.

A gauze veil or *conopeum*, he has heard of, as a guard against malaria; and speaks in terms of respect as to its probable use. We also have a good opinion of this preventive, for reasons that have not occurred to Dr. M'Culloch.

Whether malaria acts by being absorbed by the skin, as Brocchi supposes, or by being taken in by the breath, and acts on the stomach, or whether as an effluvium it acts on the nostrils first, and then on the system by the lungs, are questions of theory which we are not yet ripe to determine. They will be touched on by and by. Odours are certainly wafted to great distances, as our author has conclusively shown, pp. 308-312.

Ch. 8. *On the seasons and climates peculiarly favourable to the production, propagation, and effects of Malaria.*

A warm season, and a warm climate, are undoubtedly among the circumstances which contribute to a more plentiful production of malaria. They may operate also by relaxing the tone of the animal system, and increasing susceptibility. As a general rule, disorders of malaria are more severe in proportion as the miasma is produced in the greater quantity, as in rotting of hemp, in

sugar ships, in the accumulation of putrid coffee, potatoes, &c. in warehouses, on wharves, in certain fortified places, as at Havre, in the case of the Pontine marshes, those of Bresse, and Forez. In these cases, change of season may decrease the virulence of the disease; but it seems to be present in such places, more or less, at all seasons. Hence the severity of the disease may be independent of diathesis or previous disposition. Dr. M'Culloch doubts if in any case it has been strictly proved, that season produces a predisposition. Perhaps not; but we have not the slightest doubt that error in diet, excess, and repletion, do produce such a predisposition. In all cases, as we think, infection affects most, the weakest part of the system. So those who have had remittents in autumn, are liable to intermittents in spring.

Difference of seasons, as a cold season following a hot one, or a very hot summer succeeding a rainy one, and prevalence of winds and currents, may increase or decrease the quantity, the effects, and the direction of this poison, and in many cases may convert endemics into epidemics, as we apprehend for many years past has been the case in the United States. These epidemics will be gradually annihilated, by judicious cultivation, and increasing population. The medical statistical records, and observations of good observers, are yet wanting, to disentangle this subject from many difficulties attending it. Noah Webster's collection of cases of pestilence following wars, is a very useful record.

The general season for intermittents in England is the spring: the remittents of summer and autumn, sometimes appear at the beginning of August, but rarely till the middle of that month. It is so generally in the United States. They may continue, as they sometimes have done, even into November. The yellow fever of 1793, extended to the middle of October. Generally, there is no safety, till the frosts of October have decidedly appeared.

In Italy, from the solstice to the equinox, is regarded as the malaria season. In the Pontine marshes, it continues to the end of October, or even later.

Has the Moon any influence? Jackson, Lind, and particularly Balfour, seem to be of opinion it has. Is it owing to higher tides, and more extended exposure, after new and full moon?

As to climate, the countries where vegetation is most rapid and luxuriant, where vegetables spring soonest into full life, and soonest die—the countries where rains are apt to prevail, rather than frost or snow, are productive of the most violent cases of miasmatic fever. The yellow fever of New-Orleans, would be a mild remittent or intermittent in Canada.

Finally, who will supply, or begin to supply, that great desi-

deratum, a Geography of Malaria? Those who can afford to travel over Europe, ought to hail with gratitude, any judicious effort, however partial or confined, toward a work so desirable.

Ch. 9. *On the Geography of Malaria.*

The materials for this chapter, are furnished by the scanty and accidental hints of travellers. For the whole of the remarks concerning the Mediterranean, Dr. M'Culloch acknowledges himself indebted to Captain Smyth, in his accounts of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Mediterranean shores.

Malaria districts will, in the first place, comprise the alluvions of the Oronoko, the Mississippi, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Danube, the Congo, and similar places.

It will embrace all the smaller alluvions, of the Po, the Rhone, and all other known rivers, more or less in proportion to their liability to alternations of moisture and dryness, from the rivers themselves, as the valleys of Cochin China, Ava, and Egypt; the Jungles of the east, whether of Bamboo or Mangrove; the river swamps, and alluvions of the Carolinas, Georgia, Mobile, &c.

Every place where water accumulates for want of drainage, whether the locality be extensive or confined, as the swamps of Hungary, the Lyonnais, the fenny regions and mosses of England, and the numerous low and moist lands of our own Atlantic country, throughout the extent of the eastern shore; the margins of lakes, whether of Italy, of our Genesee country, or the great lakes of Erie, Ontario, and Superior.

For the enumeration of sickly localities in Italy and Greece, we must refer to our author, p. 373, et seq. We are a very travelling people in the United States, full as much so as the English; and to those who incline to take the tour of France, Spain, Italy, and Greece, we recommend the account which Dr. M'Culloch has here presented to us, throughout the whole of this interesting chapter. We know of no subject which ought to occupy the attention of travellers, who mean to publish their observations, so much as that now in question. Nor does it require an education absolutely medical. It will suffice, if the general notions contained in the book now before us, be well considered; and that the persons who would profit by this knowledge, should keep their eyes open to observation, and their ears to authentic information. A traveller who, in the present day, wilfully neglects these observations and inquiries, does not possess the requisites which the public have a right to expect.

Ch. 10. *Of the nature of Malaria.*

"That the poison of marshes consisted in animaculæ, invading the body through the lungs, sometimes, I presume, through the stomach also, is a speculation that dates as high as Lucretius, Varro, and Columella; which seems to have been renewed in the days of the Microscope, by Kircher and some others, and appears naturally enough to have found favour with Linnaeus.



"Volta must be allowed the merit of the first experiments and the first suggestions of the chemical theory of malaria. Naturally enough also, these philosophers sought the poison in question, among the ascertained chemical gasses. Among these are found the names of Baumes, Orfila, Chevreuil, Textoris, Balme: and that the accused gasses have been carbonic acid, azote, hydrocarburetted gas, hydrophosphuretted gas, hydrosulphuretted gas, and even ammonia, to say nothing of a yet undiscovered compound of azot and oxygen, called septon.

"But justice must now be done to those who have attempted, by means of analysis which modern chemistry furnishes, to examine the air produced by marshes, and to inquire whether it did not really contain some peculiar volatile substance or compound, and *unknown* gas, the true source of the evil; since I need not say that the known ones which have been enumerated, are not the poison in question, inasmuch as they can be applied to the body in the laboratory more effectually than nature can ever furnish them, without exciting fevers.

"The eudiometrical experiments of Gattoni, and Moscati, produced no results, as might have been anticipated. A more rational method of experimenting, and for a different object, was attempted by De Lisle, Vauquelin, Julia,\* Breschi, and others; and if the problem could have been solved by the analytical powers of modern chemistry, we might have expected the solution from the hands of Vauquelin. It is unnecessary to detail failures, and equally so to describe the nature of the attempts, though rationally conducted. What was considered as animal matter, was found repeatedly in the condensed dew of the grounds in question. But how far this fact may be connected with what is sought, we can scarcely conjecture. Malaria, like contagion, like odours, remains a problem for future chemistry; nor must we blame those who have been unable to produce results without means." p. 422.

In the following pages, Dr. M'Culloch still adheres, however, to the notion, that malaria, or miasma, is a poisonous Gas; and thinks it is decomposable by the sun, pages 110, 266, 270, 276, 292, 424, 467.

Upon this obscure subject, we do not pretend to offer a suggestion that ought to be deemed any thing more than probable. But while the whole matter is in reality involved in such acknowledged obscurity, any suggestions of a plausible character relating to it, cannot be considered as out of time, or at present out of place.

Our own opinion is the exploded one, that *miasma is animalcular*: we shall endeavour to show, 1st. That it is not a gas. 2dly. That it is not a mere odour or effluvium. 3dly. That the phenomena can be explained on the theory of animalculæ.

As to the first point; it is not a Gas.

Many of the ablest chemists now living, have anxiously made experiments in a variety of situations on miasmatic air, for the purpose of ascertaining this point expressly. The result has uniformly been, that the air examined, contained no other constituent gas than the atmosphere usually contains.

It is conceded, even by Dr. M'Culloch, that none of the known gasses are miasma. It is not carbonic acid, nor hydrocarburet,

\* M. Julia made sixty experiments on the marshes of Cuch near Narbonne, the pond of Pudre near Sigean, of Salces and Salanque in Roussillon, of Capestang near Bezieres, and the different marshes of the coast of Cette, without result. As to septon, it is now where to be found but in Dr. Mitchell's Lexicon.

nor hydrophosphat, nor sulphuretted hydrogen, nor sulphureous gas, or any of the known gasses. They are all out of the question. Chemists have been too long exposed to them, to dread their influence.

We assert without fear of contradiction from any chemist, that if in miasmatic air, any new or unexamined gas existed, the chemistry of the present day is adequate to ascertain its presence. There are known means of separating from a gaseous mixture, all the known gasses. If there were any residual gas, this fact could not possibly escape an experienced analyst. The conclusion to be drawn, is, there is no such residual gas.

Those who assert that miasma is a gas, are bound to prove, if not its actual existence, at least the probability of its being so. We cannot see in Dr. M.'s book, any one argument of any kind directly bearing on this disputed point. Many of the properties of miasma are inconsistent with those of a gas of any known kind; and all of them can be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

Facts inconsistent with a gas, are—

It attaches to solid substances. 267.

It is capable of being wafted in a stream of moist air. 236. 240. 259. 309. 311. In which last passage, it is asserted that it can be wafted in company with a cloud.

It may be planted out. 247. Can this be a gas?

It is decomposed by the sun. 276. Is this the case with any known gas?

Fire and smoke decompose it. 281. 285. 292. They decompose no known gas.

It is not propagated in crowded places. 292. But the atmospheric air is.

There are varieties of this poison. 425. 435. Then there must be several of these gasses.

A gauze veil a preventive. 299. Not against a gas.

If it be a gas, these are very anomalous properties: before they are ascribed to miasma as a gas, its gaseous nature ought first to be shown by some arguments of high probability: till then, these vagaries of the imaginary gas in question, are arguments against its gaseous existence.

We conclude, then, that we have no right, in the present state of our knowledge concerning it, to consider it as a gas.

As to the second point; is it an effluvium or odour?

It may be; far more probably than that it is a gas. We think, however, it is not: because, in the greater number of cases, probably in three out of four, the deleterious effects are produced, without affecting in any degree the sense of smelling: nec nares contingit odore. The lining membrane of the nose, is more commonly attacked during the propagation of contagion; but not always, even in that case. We do not, however, pretend to deny

that miasma may be effluvium, although we do venture to deny that it is a gas. But we prefer

The third suggestion, that it is animalcular.

Hume, and Brown the metaphysician, in a different form of expression, but without any difference of meaning worth notice, have remarked, that there is no rational ground upon which we can rest, for imputing a necessary connexion between two facts or circumstances, but their constant concomitance.

We have no authority whatever, for expecting that one thing will attend upon or succeed another, but the general experience of mankind, that they have always done so. This is not sufficient, according to Brown, to impute *necessary connexion*, as Hume does, but it is sufficient to found upon it the general expectation, that like circumstances having always been concomitant, they will continue to be so. This is a conclusion founded on the nature of the human intellect; and which we make as of course.

The times and seasons, the places and circumstances where miasma abounds, are the same as where insects abound. Universally so. Warm climates, warm weather, moist places, putrid vegetables. What will be yellow fever in Africa or New-Orleans, will be intermittent in the north of England. The mosquitoes and gallinippers of New-Orleans, are replaced by gnats in the summer of a cold climate.

Insects are of all sizes, from the largest to the myriads of various kinds, which nothing but the most powerful microscope can exhibit to our sight. But large or small, the laws of their production are the same. The circumstances that will produce a gnat, will produce an insect something less; and so on till we come to the animalculæ infusoriæ, and those that float in the atmosphere. Animalculæ and miasma are connected then: always, in time, place, and circumstance. What possible mode of connexion can the reader suggest or assign, but their sameness?

Animalculæ do exist in the water, in the air, in the food we take, in our bodies. Sometimes without ill effect. In disease, generally, of which they form a part. Tumours and abscesses usually contain animalcules. They are not confined to the hydatids of the liver, or to the rot in sheep. They exist in pustules of psora. In the buboes of the plague, (see appendix to the third vol. of Turner's account of the Levant.) It is probable they exist in the yellow fever: the physicians of Philadelphia are aware of Dr. Patterson's experiment at Bush Hill, in 1820, where the ejections of black vomit exhibited, by the microscope, a congeries of animalculæ. The experiment, we hope, will be repeated when it can be.

Where the life of a parasite animal is stronger than the life of the animal preyed upon, disease is produced, and the latter falls

a victim. Hence, the tendency to breed insects in weakly children, particularly young females.

Does any man doubt that we inhale animalculæ when we breathe: that we eat them and drink them? That when our constitution is vigorous, we destroy and assimilate them, and that when their constitution is more vigorous than ours, they live upon us, at our expense? Is not this the case with all the vermicular disorders? Is it not likely to be the case, when new species of animalculæ are suddenly generated in the full vigour of existence, and when the circumstances that give energy to them, decrease our own? This is the case not only with parasite animals, such as intestinal worms, but with the moss, the misletoe, the ivy, and other parasite plants, which seize upon the trees debilitated by old age, and live upon them.

We have seen, that many circumstances attending miasma, cannot be reconciled with the known properties of any gas. Let us see whether the curious facts collected by Dr. M'Culloch, in various parts of his book, cannot be explained on the animalcular theory.

1. Malaria is destroyed by chemical agents, 216. Will not the disinfecting gasses and vapours of chlorine and nitrous gas destroy *all* animal life?

2. Malaria attaches itself to solid substances, 216. 267. No wonder, if it consist in animalculæ. The wonder is, that a gas should do so.

3. It acts most strongly in its own neighbourhood, 217. Doubtless, if it be animalcular.

4. It is capable of being wafted to great distances, particularly in a moist atmosphere, 236. 240. 259. 309. 311. It is impossible to believe that any gas would not be diffused, in such a case, through the atmosphere: every chemist knows, that all gasses tend to diffusion among each other, as a general law; but there is no difficulty in conceiving very minute insects enveloped in a moist air and wafted with it.

5. Hilly countries are less liable to miasma than plains. They are also less liable to insects of whatsoever sort or size.

6. It will occupy one side of a street in preference to another, 259. 261. As in the Porta del Popolo at Rome; the main street at Columbia, South Carolina. This is strange in a gas. But it is not strange that animalcular insects should be stopt by houses.

7. Malaria may be planted out by trees, 247. You cannot plant out the atmosphere, or any of the gasses composing it. But you may intercept a swarm of insects by means of a plantation.

8. Miasma is most prevalent in the evening and morning, and less in mid-day, 274. So are insects notoriously. Dr. Rush said to us, in 1793, avoid evening and morning air, in low and damp situations. There is little danger in the heat of the day.



9. Miasma attends damp air, 270. 272. So do insects.
10. It creeps along the ground, 265. So do gnats and other minute insects; they do so of choice. Their abode is near the ground, and near streams. Dr. S. Jackson's fine experiment of barricadoing out yellow fever, in the city of Philadelphia, in 1820, showed most conclusively, that unless in a strong wind, they would not mount so high as ten feet. Hence also, rooms on the ground floor, are more dangerous than the upper story.
11. It is a poisonous gas, 266. 270. So are all vigorous deleterious parasitical insects: every insect that preys upon us, though not strictly poisonous, may, like poisons, be productive of disease and death.
12. Decomposed by the sun, 276. A gas cannot be decomposed by solar heat alone. We know of none that is so. But all insects love the shade, and there is reason to believe they are burnt up by the strong sun of a warm climate, in mid-day. This is the prevailing opinion.
13. Miasma is destroyed in a dry atmosphere: that is, insects and animalculæ are not generated in dry situations, as in pine barrens.
14. No hazard after ten o'clock at night in Italy, 277? We acknowledge it is far less than from seven to ten o'clock: for insects are most numerous and vigorous in the evening, not at night. Annesley's *Researches on India*. 4to. p. 74.
15. Night air not always injurious, 279. Certainly not, where no circumstances contribute to produce insects and animalculæ.
16. Canals are apt to breed evening flies; so are fish ponds, &c. 280., and other insects, where there are vegetable matters to putrefy. Size is relative and forms no objection.
17. Fire and smoke a preventive, 281. 285. 292. All our backwoodsmen know this, as well as the use of segars for the same purpose. We refer the reader to Acerbi's curious account of the mosquitoes on the Norwegian lakes, and the use of smoke in keeping them off.
18. Ardent spirits a preventive of miasmatic fever, 280, 281. By giving temporary invigoration to the system, and rendering the man able to prey upon the insect, instead of the insect on the man.
19. Is abstemious or generous diet best? 284. Neither: want of food, and repletion, are equally bad. The one induces direct, the other indirect debility, and enables the insect to conquer the man.
20. Miasma not propagated in crowded places, 292. Gasses are; but insects are stopped and detained.
21. A gauze veil is said to be a preventive, 299. It is so against an insect however small, which impinges against the net work: it is not so against a gas.

22. Malaria accompanied by mosquitoes, 382. Agreed.

23. There are several varieties of this poison, 425. 435. And so there are of animalculæ. Look over Linnæus' catalogue of intestinal worms, and of animalculæ infusoriæ, and we may be satisfied that it is so, incomplete as his enumeration must necessarily be.

24. Malaria attacks, in preference, new comers, 447. So do gnats and mosquitoes, notoriously. By analogy, so do the smaller insects.

25. Cattle become sickly in miasmatic localities, 434. Rot in sheep, 461. True. But the rot in sheep consists of animalculæ preying upon the liver.

26. Malaria exists at all times of the year, and in all countries of the world, 470. No doubt it exists co-extensively with insects, visible and invisible.

27. Continuous heat alone, does not produce malaria, 472. Nor insects, nor animalculæ.

28. Not known at sea, 473. Nor are insects small or large ; unless wafted by a breeze from a miasmatic shore.

29. Moist weather, according to Dr. Chalmers, v. i. p. 7, is productive of innumerable multitudes of insects and reptiles in hot climates ; and of malaria too.

30. Lumbrici attend dysentery. Huxham de aere v. 2. p. 98. Pringle on diseases of the army, p. 271. Monro, p. 65.

31. In fevers of malaria, the stomach is usually first affected. Lind on fevers and infection, p. 62. Rush thought the disease was taken in with the saliva : Lectures on the practice of physic. See also Lind, 147.

32. Lind (p. 59.) procured the waters of Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, to be sent to him well corked and sealed : but he found no animalculæ in them : they were all putrid. No wonder ; from the insects dying in the water. Dr. S. Jackson of Philadelphia, was so kind as to procure for us some decayed vegetables and water, from a miasmatic bank on Schuylkill. On examination next morning, by the solar microscope, no animalculæ were discoverable. No wonder, for to produce the diseases in question, the birds must have flown. They exist deleteriously *in the air* ; too small for the human sight, unless with powerful apparatus.

Such are the properties of miasma, as enumerated by our author, in the various places of his book above referred to. In our opinion, they afford no difficulty to the animalcular theory, and great difficulty to every other. Such as these arguments are, we leave them with deference, to the reflections of the reader.

Ch. 11. *The general effects of Malaria, and the diseases produced by it.*

When the inhabitants of marshy districts, are compared with

those of high and mountainous regions, their complexions are more sallow, their stature is less, deformities are frequent; the bones are affected, their extremities being usually found large and spongy; and rickets are more common. Sometimes there is an appearance of fatness, but more owing to aqueous accumulations in the cellular membrane; the hair is flaccid, the beard scanty, the eye dull and languid, the abdomen, even from early infancy, is enlarged, and the limbs are slender and appear emaciated. The liver becomes enlarged, the spleen is affected, puberty is late, and they are comparatively less prolific. These symptoms prevail of course, more or less, as their cause prevails or not. Old age, also, seems to arrive prematurely; from 35 to 50, is the period of danger, in such places. The irritability and sensibility of persons thus exposed, are less, and their faculties, moral and intellectual, are comparatively dull. Hence a general indolence of manner and disposition. All these symptoms are marked or not, in proportion as the district is more or less calculated to produce them.

Whether glandular obstructions, scrophula, and goitre, are to be chiefly attributed to this cause, we cannot say. To us, it appears rather probable that they are so to be ascribed.

Hippocrates attributes perfection of natural intellect, to a salutary and invigorating atmosphere. Will this apply, *è converso*, (says our author, p. 436) to Bœotia and Holland?

Dysentery, cholera, and diarrhœa, will hardly be contested.

Apoplexy, palsy, visceral obstructions, and dropsy, do not appear to us exclusively ascribable to this cause; we should be willing to allow that it gave rise to predisposition; farther than that, we doubt.

Some authors add, mesenteric affections, worms, ulcers of the legs, and even elephantiasis, together with rickets, scrophula, phthisis, and chlorosis. Upon all which cases, we should require more proof than we possess, or than Dr. M'Culloch has offered to us.

He makes the following additions to the disorders of malaria, (not, however, we presume, exclusively) from his own observations, and on his own authority. *Tic douloureux*, *sciatica*, *headach*, *toothach*, as branches of *neuralgia*. Geologically, Dr. M'Culloch is so accurate an observer, and so good a reasoner, that we are inclined to allow great weight to his medical opinion also, thus offered apparently with full confidence.

In malaria districts, the tables of the average of life, vary very considerably. Dr. Price gives an average of twenty-five years, (one half the *healthy* period of duration) while Condorcet, in France, lowers it to eighteen years. In Bresse in the Lyonnais, it is twenty-two. These are very important facts in relation to the theory of population. In the commune of Chatillon, in the

Orleannais, the births are to the deaths, as one to five. Monfalcon states similar proportions in other miasmatic districts of France. There is reason to believe the same general fact to be prevailing in the whole district of the Italian Maremmes. 451.

Animals appear also to be affected by miasmatic districts, though not to the same degree as human beings. Dr. M'Culloch gives an enumeration and authorities to this purpose, 454—465. To his authorities, we would add, Lord Somerville's facts and observations on sheep, wool, &c. 3d edit. 1809. p. 23. 93. 100.

Such is our analysis of this well-timed, and important book; for it is impossible for us, after careful perusal, to think or to speak of it otherwise. It may be considered, to a certain degree, as a medical work; but its great importance to the police of health in our own and every other country, induces us to wish that it may be extensively perused, and well reflected on. Dr. M'Culloch may have pushed his notions of the deleterious effects of malaria (miasma) beyond what general observation of the facts will warrant. We are not inclined, for our own part, to impute any needless exaggeration; being well persuaded that his facts are for the most part undeniable, and his conclusions well founded; and the sooner and the more deeply mankind are led to pay more attention than they have yet done to this branch of Hygiene; and to the subjects here discussed, the better it will be for themselves and their posterity.

We have procured and perused Dr. John Crawford's introductory lecture on the cause, seat, and cure of diseases, 1811, and his papers in the first volume of the Baltimore Medical Recorder, 1809. They contain a suggestion of his theory of the animalcular origin of diseases, but few facts or reasonings of weight. We have urged nothing in this review, in any manner derived from his papers or suggestions, or to be found among them.

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ART. III.—*Seleccion de Obras maestras dramaticas por Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, y Moreto. Por F. SALES, Instructor en la Universidad de Harvard, en Cambridge. Boston: 1828. 12mo, pp. 255. Selections from the dramatic master-pieces of Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, and Moreto. By F. SALES, Teacher in the University of Harvard, Cambridge. Boston: 1828.*

DURING the last twenty years, several attempts have been made to promote, in the rest of Europe, a knowledge of the national



drama of Spain. The translations from Calderon, by A. W. Schlegel, and especially his lectures at Vienna, in 1809, first gave this direction to the curiosity of the lovers of literature. But, it was soon found, that the original theatre of Spain could be understood only by those, who had become familiar with it in its native language and peculiar costume; since it was too separate, idiomatic, and national, to bear translation, or to be fully illustrated by critical discussions. In consequence of this, two editions of Calderon have been for some time going on in Germany, and two selections of old Spanish plays in England, while, at the same time, Spain itself has been, by the curiosity of foreigners, so exhausted of this portion of its printed literature, that its old authors can hardly be obtained at any price; and, in Madrid, where nothing of the kind has been thought of since Huerta published his *Teatro* in 1784, a reprint of portions of their early dramatists has recently been undertaken, with a good prospect of success.

In our own country, our growing connexion with the Spanish character, and our growing want of the Spanish language, seem to be leading to results somewhat similar. At the south, a constant intercourse with Spanish America, has led to much cultivation of the language, while at the north, where this intercourse is necessarily less frequent, attention has been rather turned to the literature. The effects of both are already visible: many good Spanish books have been reprinted, and among them is to be numbered the volume of plays collected and published by Mr. Sales. It was printed for the use of the under graduates of Harvard College, where Spanish literature is now much cultivated, and consists of three genuinely national dramas, from the period about two centuries since, when the original Spanish theatre was at the summit of its success. The first of these dramas is, *El Principe constante*—*The firm-hearted Prince*, by Calderon, which Schlegel, Bouterwek, and Sismondi have praised so much. The second is, *La Estrella de Sevilla*, *the Star of Seville*, the best of Lope de Vega's dramas, and which has here the great merit of being reprinted, as it was originally written, and not as it has been uniformly given in Spain and England, with miserable additions and alterations, to accommodate it to the present degraded state of the Spanish stage. The last is *El Desden con el Desden*, *Disdain met with Disdain*, by Moreto, a spirited and poetical comedy, of which Moliere has made free use in his *Princesse d'Elide*. These three pieces, therefore, form an excellent, though certainly a small representation of the immense body constituting the old Spanish drama; and, besides being honourable to their editor, Mr. Sales, whose publications have done much to promote the progress of Spanish literature among us, they constitute a very interesting work for those who wish

either to make themselves familiar with the idiomatic portions of the Spanish language, or the genuine and fearless spirit of the elder Spanish poetry.

In reading this volume, therefore, our thoughts have been naturally turned to the vast mass of the racy Spanish drama, produced between 1590 and 1700; or between the time when Lope de Vega took possession of the theatre, and the time when the Bourbon family finally crushed whatever of national spirit and poetical enthusiasm had survived the despotism of the last princes from the house of Austria. But, of this interesting portion of literary history, we have found no distinct or sufficient accounts. What is in Schlegel, Bouterwek, and Sismondi, is imperfect, partly from want of the dramatists themselves, and partly from want of familiarity with the country that produced them, and whose impress and character they so distinctly bear. These are deficiencies which cannot be soon or easily supplied. Many of the needful materials are irrecoverably lost, so that Moratin, the comic poet, now alive, who was long employed on the subject, seems to have given it up in despair. Many more of the materials can be found only in Spain, and only in manuscripts; and all are every where obtained with difficulty. Still, the subject is so curious and interesting, that we will venture to give some of the notices which we have collected,—not with the thought of forming a history of the early Spanish drama;—but in the hope of being able to excite some attention to its peculiar spirit and characteristics, and to recommend it earnestly to the lovers of Spanish literature in our own country.

The earliest form of the drama was the same in Spain, that it was in France and England;—that of pantomimes to set forth the scenery of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Nativity, and of the great events connected with the first appearance of Christianity. The first notice we have met of these exhibitions, is in the remarkable body of laws compiled by Alonzo the wise, between 1256 and 1263,—the famous *Partidas*—in which it is declared that “the clergy ought not to join in such idle and lewd exhibitions, nor permit them to be represented in the churches; but rather, that they should make devout representations of the birth of our Lord, and how the angels came to the shepherds and told them he was born; and of his advent, and how the Magi kings came to worship him; and of his resurrection; how he was crucified and rose the third day.” From all which we learn, that pantomimic exhibitions of subjects drawn from those portions of our religion, which have sometimes been called its mysteries, were common in Spain in the middle of the thirteenth century, as they were elsewhere in Europe, and that in their original and more decent form, they were considered devout exercises, fit to be exhibited in the churches by priests, for the edification of the people. But the circumstances of the times, did not, in Spain, as

they did in France, favour the formation of a regular drama; and, therefore, though they continued to be represented on the great religious festivals, at Christmas, Easter, and especially the day of the Holy Sacrament, yet no written dialogue was added to them, nor any shape attempted to be given them, except that of rude pantomimic exhibitions.

On the other hand, dialogues, which were not represented, appear as soon as the country was so far prevalent in its contest against the Moors, as to give the tranquillity needful for such literary occupations. The oldest we have seen or heard of, is the *Comedieta de Ponza*, which we possess in manuscript, and which has never been printed. It was written by the famous Marquis of Santillana, between 1435 and 1454, and is called the Little Comedy of Ponza, because it is a moral discourse in dialogue, on the mutability of human affairs, composed in consequence of the sea-fight near Ponza, in which the kings of Arragon and Navarre were taken prisoners by the Genoese. Another dialogue, composed about 1472, full of satire on the state of the kingdom, in the latter part of the weak and dissolute reign of Henry IV., is marked with much poetical freedom and spirit. It is called *Mingo Revulgo*, and produced such effects, that it is noticed by Mariana, among the political troubles of the times when it appeared. The last of the written dialogues, which were not represented, that should be mentioned in connexion with the early drama, is the *Celestina*, or Calisto y Melibœa, which was written before 1480, and was first published in 1501. It is a romance in prose dialogue, divided into twenty-one acts or parts, by two different authors, and forms a small volume. It is called a tragi-comedy, and is full of a strange variety of adventures, some of which are of such a nature, that the book has generally been severely suppressed by the Inquisition in Spain, though much sought after for the purity and spirit of its style, and, in one instance, praised by Cervantes as "a divine book."

These constant approaches to a dramatic literature, led soon to efforts at representation. The first was in 1492, when a company of players in Castile, represented Eclogues of John de la Enzina, which are partly in the manner of the ancient mysteries, and partly in the manner of Mingo Revulgo. Enzina began by translating and paraphrasing Virgil's Eclogues, some of which he has strangely altered, so as to accommodate them to the passing events of his age, and the achievements of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He then went on and wrote eleven other pieces, entirely his own, which he, also, called Eclogues; but which are, in fact, short dramatic compositions, sometimes on merely light and trifling subjects of love, but more frequently on subjects drawn from the New Testament, and representing or expounding the mysteries of Christianity. They profess in their



very titles to have been represented before Fadrique de Toledo, the Duke of Alva, the Prince Don John, and other distinguished personages of the Court. Most of them are very rude, consisting of only two or three Shepherds for interlocutors ; but some have five or six ; and the fifth, beginning *O triste de mi cuytado*, and the seventh, beginning *Pascuala Dios te Mantenga*, have quite a dramatic structure and movement, and something of poetical warrant. The whole constitute the first attempts at dramatic representation in Spain, which were thus contemporary with the expulsion of the Moors, and the discovery of America ; two hundred years later than similar exhibitions in France, and ninety years after the establishment at Paris, of the first patented company of actors in modern times.

A little later, or soon after the year 1500, pieces of legitimate length, and of a more dramatic character, were prepared expressly for representation. But, it was done in Italy. A Spaniard of good family, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, having been carried into captivity by the African Moors, was rescued by the ecclesiastical power, and brought to Italy, where he received employment at the court of Leo X. and under Fabricio Colonna at Naples. While there, he wrote and caused to be represented in Spanish, eight dramatic pieces, which were afterwards published in a volume called *Propaladia*, or *First efforts of Minerva*, of which they fill nearly the whole. They are the first Spanish compositions, which are found with the title of *Comedias* ; they are the first that, in imitation of the old French Mysteries, are divided into *Jornadas* or days : and they are the first that have an *Introyto* or *Loa*, an introduction partly in the nature of a prologue, praising some distinguished individual present, or the whole of the audience. The pieces are all in verse, and all divided into five days ; but nothing can be more wild and perverse than their plans, and nothing more coarse than the general style of their execution. In the *Serafina*, we have interlocutors in four languages, with the following rude warning of it in the prologue to the audience :

But you must all keep quite awake,  
Or else in vain you'll undertake  
To comprehend the differing speech,  
Which here is kept distinct for each—  
Four languages—and yet be sure,  
Castillian and Valencian both are pure  
And so the Latin and Italian too ;  
But take care or they'll trouble you.

In the *Trofea*, which is in honour of the great king Manuel of Portugal, twenty Asiatic or at least Heathen kings are brought on the stage at once, and speak by an interpreter, whose single harangue fills one entire act. In another, we have the most vulgar picture of a common soldier's life, and, in yet another, a si-



milar picture of the life of a common servant, without the least dramatic plan or colouring, and with a continual intermixture of foreign languages, among which we find the Portuguese. But, there were one or two, which, perhaps, had a favourable effect on the style and spirit of the Spanish stage, as it was afterwards developed in Spain itself. The *Jacinta* has a crude plan and little appearance of character drawing, but the versification is often happy and harmonious ; and the *Hymenea* contains the earliest traces we have observed of that peculiar tone of love making, intrigues, jealousies, and quarrels, which was afterwards established on the Spanish theatre, and brought to perfection by Lope and his followers.

But though this attempt was made in Italy, and though Villalobos translated from Plautus at about the same time, still it is apparent the Spanish character was not turned in earnest to the Theatre, till half a century later. An attempt was then made by Lope de Rueda, a gold-beater by profession, of whose efforts Cervantes, when he wrote the preface to his plays in 1615, retained a lively admiration, which is, in itself, no common eulogy. Lope certainly began in the right way, though he did not advance far in it. His purpose was evidently to please a general audience, and having joined a company of actors about 1560, and finding himself above the vulgar dulness of a common pantomime, he wrote short farces, which were publicly represented, and in which he bore his part with great applause. In all his efforts, he seems to have thought of the effect he could produce at the moment, and this satisfied him so completely, that hardly any thing he wrote, was published until after his death. The volume we have before us, contains four *comedias* and two *coloquias pastoriles*, the whole of which we should now call, farces. There is certainly little order in them, and little finish, but there is much vigour and spirit. The dialogue is natural, and they have preserved more of the distinction of characters, have more of a dramatic air, and more dramatic situations, than any thing written before them. They were, too, greatly in advance of the means then provided for theatrical representation. Cervantes says, that "in the time of Lope de Rueda, the whole wardrobe of a theatre consisted of a few coarse dresses, which could be put into a single sack ; that they had neither scenes nor machinery ; that the stage was formed of loose boards placed across benches ; and that the curtain was a coverlet suspended to a cord." Lope de Rueda must have been a remarkable man to do so much with means so humble. Cervantes frequently saw him act at Seville on such a stage, and admired him ; and above half a century afterwards, Lope de Vega, declared him the first founder of a proper national theatre.

Lope de Rueda, had several imitators, such as Alonzo de la Vega and John de Timoneda ; and from his time, to the present,

farces have never ceased to be acted on the Spanish stage. But, while this attempt to begin a merely popular theatre was going forward so successfully, though so silently, because it was confined to the lower classes, some efforts were making to satisfy the upper classes, who were partly acquainted with the works of the ancients, and to whom the adventurous and splendid expeditions of Charles V. had opened the poetry and theatres of Italy, where regular tragedies had been represented from 1520. These efforts were made partly in the way of translations from the ancients, like those made by Oliva from Sophocles, Euripides, and Plautus, or those made by Abril from Terence; and partly in the way of dramas modelled or intended to be modelled on those of the ancients, of which the most remarkable, were those by Geronimo Bermudez, in 1577, on the story of Inez de Castro, and those by Argensola in 1585, of which the canon gives so interesting an account in the first part of *Don Quixote*. But these attempts produced no lasting effect. It was no more in the Spanish character than in the English, to follow in the footsteps of antiquity, and, therefore, while Lope de Rueda found successors, the efforts of Bermudez and Argensola, though in some respects higher and more poetical, remained unimitated.

Indeed, though Lope de Rueda has been sometimes called the founder and father of the Spanish drama, yet up to this period, it may be truly said, that no proper theatre existed. For besides, that, in three centuries, very few efforts had been made, and these few, of the most different and inconsistent kinds, in eclogues, farces, translations from the ancients, and tragedies in the ancient manner, it is also true, that no spot could be found in Spain, at the time of Lope de Rueda's death, in 1567, where a drama could be represented so as to give to it a dramatic effect. In this point of view, indeed, as an entertainment for the people, it was not thought of before the year 1492, if it was before the time of Lope de Rueda, above half a century later. Even then, the persons, who represented the very few pieces which were known, were companies of strolling players, who stopped but a few days even in the largest cities, and were sought when there, only by the commonest classes of the people. The first notice we have of any thing approaching a regular theatre, and this is far removed from one—is in 1568, when an arrangement was begun, which subsists at Madrid down to our own time. Recollecting, no doubt, the origin of dramatic exhibitions in Spain for religious edification, it was then ordered by the government, that no actors should make any exhibition in Madrid, except in some place appointed by two religious houses, who should receive a rent for the privilege; an order, in which, the General Hospital of the city was included in 1583, and which, with this addition, remains, we believe, in force, down to the

present time. Under this order, plays were acted in Madrid, but only in the open area of a court-yard, without seats, decorations, roof, or machinery, except such as is humorously described by Cervantes to have been packed with all the dresses of the company into one vast sack. In this state, things continued for about a dozen years. Only strolling parties of actors were known, and they remained but a few days. No fixed place was settled for their reception; but sometimes they were sent to one court-yard, and sometimes to another; they acted in the daytime and in the open air; and so small was the concourse of spectators, and so inconsiderable the sum paid for admission, that the profit derived from them to the two convents and the hospital by whose permission they acted, never exceeded ten dollars. At last, in 1579, and 1583, two court-yards were fitted up with stage and benches; but still without a roof; the spectators sat in the open air, or at the windows of the house whose court they occupied; and the actors performed under a very slight shelter, and with decorations and scenery, which did not deserve the name. In short, the theatre in Madrid, was, down to 1586, in the condition in which the stages of mountebanks are now; and, of course, was entirely unfit to aid any efforts, that might be hazarded to produce a national drama.

But though the proper foundation was not laid, all was tending to it, and preparing for it. The stage, rude as it was, had yet the advantage of being fixed to two spots; the number of authors, though small, was still sufficient to settle the question, that plays would be wanted; and finally, the public, if those who then resorted to the theatre, deserve a name so respectable, though they had not determined what kind of a drama should become national, had yet determined, that they would be suited and satisfied; and that the drama to be produced, should go forth from the rich and abundant soil of the popular character.

At this point of time, an individual appeared as a writer for the stage, whose uncommon talent had well nigh given it a direction materially different from the one it finally pursued. This remarkable person was Cervantes. He had already lived at Rome, had fought for Christendom, and been maimed at the battle of Lepanto; and had passed five years of suffering and captivity at Algiers. On his return in 1581, after an absence from Spain of ten years, he found his family broken down, and himself poor and unknown, in a land almost of strangers. One of his early efforts to obtain a decent subsistence, was on the stage, which offered strong attractions to one, who seems in his youth to have been fond of the theatre, and who was now in serious want of immediate and profitable success. He wrote, at this time, or about 1585,—as he tells us, many years afterwards, with characteristic carelessness,—twenty or thirty pieces, which

were well received, but which he does not seem to have thought of consequence enough to print or preserve. In his own simple account of what he now attempted to do, not only for himself, but to create a Spanish theatre, he tells us, that he "was so bold as to reduce his plays to three acts or jornadas, from five which they had before"—and that he "represented imaginations," or allegorical personages, like War, Disease, and Famine. The twenty or thirty dramas, in which these changes were attempted, disappeared before the success with which Lope de Vega, a few years later, was followed, and were forgotten. Two of them, however, were discovered in 1782, and printed in 1784. They show with sufficient distinctness, both what was his purpose, and what was his success.

The first of them is, *El Trato de Argel*, or *Life at Algiers*; and resembles in its structure, its rude predecessors, which, as Cervantes himself tells us, were little more than conversations, like eclogues, lengthened out with episodes and interludes. His purpose seems to have been, to set before his audience, a lively dramatic picture of the life and sufferings of the Christians in Algiers, then so fresh in his own recollections. He introduces us, therefore, into the midst of the captives, and exhibits to us what he had himself witnessed or undergone, making himself one of his own *dramatis personæ*. We have, therefore, a love-story, which really happened as it is related, and which we find again in his little tale of the Generous Lover; and we have episodes, more important even than the story that connects them, such as the relation of the burning of Miguel de Aranda as it really occurred, the escape of Pedro Alvarez, a sale of Christian captives, and several more, all of which are intended to set before us, what is implied in the title of the piece, "Life at Algiers." There are, however, passages, which show the poetical spirit of the author with great power, and prove, that he aspired after a degree and form of dramatic excellence, unknown, at that time, in Europe. Take, for instance, a single specimen; not because it is the best, but, because it illustrates, in a characteristic manner, one of the changes he wished to introduce into the national drama. Aurelio, who is a Christian, affianced to Sylvia, is loved by Zara, a Moorish lady, and two immaterial agencies are introduced upon the stage, Necessity and Opportunity, who, like Mephistopheles, in the church scene in Goethe's *Faustus*, are invisible to Aurelio, though to the spectators they are visible, and prompt the evil thoughts which come into his mind, soliciting him to yield to the seductions of the fair infidel. When they are gone, he thus discourses with himself, trembling at the thought of having almost yielded and followed the seducing Zara:—



*Aurelio adonde vas ? Para do mueves, etc.*

"Aurelio, whither goest thou ? Whither bend  
Thy wandering steps their course ? What hand conducts thee ?  
Darest thou indulge thy mad and wild desires  
And cast aside the fear of God forever ?  
Can light and easy opportunity  
So far provoke thy soul to guilty pleasure  
That thou wouldst trample virtue down at once  
And yield thyself a prey to wanton love ?  
Is this the elevated thought ? Is this  
The firm intent, which thou didst vow to keep,  
That no offence to God should stain thy soul  
Though torture rack'd the remnant of thy days ?  
So soon hast thou offended ? to the winds  
Released the anticipations of a lawful love,  
And taken to thy memory instead  
Thoughts vain, dishonest, light and infamous ?  
Begone, ye base suggestions ! far away  
Each wish impure of evil ! Let the hand  
Of chaste and blameless love destroy the web,  
Which the seducer strives to wind around thee.  
The faith which I profess, *that* faith I'll follow,  
And though it lead to dark extremities,  
Nor gift nor promise, artifice nor guile,  
Shall make me swerve one instant from my God."

The conception of this passage, and of the scenes preceding it, may not be very dramatic, but it is very poetical. The whole piece, indeed, is a mixture of feeling and enthusiasm struggling against the condition of the theatre, as it then existed in Spain. Perhaps the *Trato de Argel* should not strictly be called a drama, since it is only an attempt to give dramatic effect to a series of disconnected events, so that when Cervantes has carried us through the scenes and circumstances he thought necessary to produce the impression he intended, he, at last, as he said afterwards, brings it to no conclusion at all.

The other play of Cervantes, that remains to us from this period of his life, is founded on the tragical history of Numantia, which, having resisted the Roman arms fourteen years, was taken by famine; the Roman army under Publius Æmilianus Scipio, consisting of eighty thousand men, and the Numantian of less than four thousand, all of whom perished; for when Scipio entered the city, he found not a soul alive: those who had not perished from famine, having fallen by their own hands. This siege, with its public and private horrors, from the arrival of Scipio to the fall of the city, is the subject of Cervantes' *Numancia*. And surely never was the romance of real life exhibited in such bloody extremity. The whole piece is crowded with the heart-rending effects of the famine on the Numantians; of their desperate efforts to break up the siege; and of the dreadful details involved in their final resolution to perish. With all this are mingled the discourses and predictions of allegorical existences, like the genius of Spain and the river Douro, and in-

cantations of a wild and awful magic, which still further darken the scene with supernumerary horrors. Schlegel speaks of it, as if it were one of the most distinguished efforts, not only of the Spanish theatre, but of modern poetry ; and though this opinion may not be entirely followed, it is not to be denied, that the Numancia is marked with poetical talent, and singular boldness and originality. Take, for instance, the following complaint of a body just rising under the unhallowed incantations of Marquino, a magician, to announce the fate of the city, and observe how entirely original it is.

*Cese la furia del rigor violento ; etc.*

"Cease, cease the fury of thy cruel spell!  
It is enough, Marquino, 'tis enough  
To suffer torment in the world below  
Without thy tortures added. Or thinkest thou,  
It yields me joy to feel myself resume  
The form of this brief, transitory life,  
Which, even as I awake, begins to fail me ?  
Nay rather do I feel a thrilling pain,  
Since death even now hath reassumed his power,  
And gains a second triumph o'er my life."

There is nothing of this dignity in the incantations of Marlow's Faustus, which belong to the contemporary period of the English stage, nor do we feel the same sympathy with the armed head raised by the weird sisters, to answer Macbeth's guilty questions, that we do with this suffering spirit recalled to life, but already enduring the pains of a second dissolution.

The scenes of private and domestic affliction arising from the pressure of the famine, are introduced with striking effect, especially one, between a mother and her child, which is incapable of translation, but which reminds us more than once, of the horrors of Dante's Ugolino. The first scene of this sort, however, is between a lover, Morandro, and his mistress, Lira, whom he now sees for the first time, wasted by the famine, and mourning over the universal desolation :

*Morandro. Enjuga, Lira, los ojos, etc.*

*Morandro.* "Nay, dry thy tears, my love, and rather  
Let me weep, that I behold thy wasted form.  
But thou—thou mayst not, shalt not perish thus,  
While I have life to win thee food ; and while  
But walls and fosse obstruct my way to what  
Can rescue thee, though but an instant,  
From this dreadful fate, The bread the Roman  
Eats even now, shall from his lips be dashed  
And borne to thine. For what is life or death,  
While thus I perish to behold thy griefs ?  
No! in defiance of the Roman's power  
He shall not taste of food and live,  
If but these arms still hold their wonted strength.

*Lira.* "Thou speak'st, Morandro, like a lover still,  
Forgetful, that thou bear'st the seal of death.

But think not, I can find a joy in food  
 Bought with thy danger, yea, perhaps, thy life,  
 Or hope for nourishment in what thou seek'st  
 When thou may'st lose thyself, not rescue me.  
 No, my sweet friend, enjoy thy youth,  
 Enjoy thy fresh and happy youth. Thy life  
 Hath value to the state ; thine arm can still  
 Maintain the right against this cruel foe.  
 But, I, a weak and melancholy maid,  
 What can I do but die ? Away, then,  
 With this desperate thought. I taste no food  
 Bought at such deadly price. For, at the best,  
 Thou canst but ransom for a day, a life,  
 Which this too piercing hunger must, at last, destroy.

*Morandro.* "In vain thou strivest—my will and fate alike  
 Invite and urge me on. Do thou, meanwhile,  
 Invoke all favouring Gods, and pray that I  
 Return with spoils to save us both. I go —

*Lira.* "Morandro, gentle friend,—go not—for see,  
 Before mine eyes, there waves a Roman sword,  
 Red with thy blood. O, go not, then, Morandro,  
 For, if the sally be with danger barred,  
 Death waits for thy return."

He persists, and accompanied by a friend, penetrates into the Roman camp, and obtains some bread. In the contest, he is wounded ; but still forcing his way back into the city, gives her the bread, wet with his blood, and falls dead at her feet. Other scenes are marked with similar originality and poetical power. The whole piece, indeed, succeeds in awakening strong sensations, and shows a bold attempt to create a drama, which, though not like that of Æschylus in most points, certainly reminds us of his hardy genius and unbending originality.

But, at this point in the history of his life, when he had successfully represented on the theatre, the twenty or thirty plays, of which the two just mentioned are all that remain to us, the career of Cervantes on the stage was suddenly stopped ; and very soon afterwards, that remarkable person appeared, who gave to it, its final form and character. The circumstances of this revolution are rather hinted at, than explained by Cervantes himself. "I became occupied in other affairs," he says, "I left my pen and dramas ; and immediately there appeared that prodigy of nature, the great Lope de Vega, who raised himself to the monarchy of the stage, subjugated it, and placed all the actors under his jurisdiction ; filled the world with dramas of his own, happy and well composed ; and, in such numbers, that what he has written, amounts to about ten thousand sheets, all of which, it is astonishing to relate, he has seen represented, or, at least, heard that they have been ; and if some persons, (and there are indeed many) have sought to take a share in the glory of these labours, all they have written, if put together, would not amount to the half of what he alone has done."

As far as we can now ascertain, the period at which Lope de Vega thus appeared, and, as it were, took possession of the Spanish stage, was soon after the year 1590. He was then nearly thirty years old, and had passed through many of the adventures of his checkered life. He had been secretary to the Grand Inquisitor; he had lived in the family of the famous Duke of Alva; had been in exile; and was now just returning from serving in that disastrous armada, which had been sent against England. To understand, however, the extensive and lasting effects he produced on the drama of his nation, we must consider, not only the history of it during the forty-five years it was in his hands, but the forms into which he divided and settled it; and the general direction and character, he gave to it in all its branches.

That Lope began to write, when young, such plays as were then known, is certain; such plays, we mean, as were usually divided into four parts, resembling scenes rather than acts; short, rude, and little connected. Of his earliest efforts, he gives the following distinct account in his art of writing plays, first printed in 1609.

*El Capitan Virues, insigne ingenio, etc.*

“Plays in three parts, we owe to Virues’ pen,  
Which ne’er had crawled but on all fours till then;  
An action suited to that helpless age,  
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the stage.—  
Such plays, not twelve years old did I complete,  
Four sheets to every play: one part on every sheet.”

This must, of course, have been as early as 1574, and, therefore, before even Cervantes’ captivity. A few years later, while Lope was with Manrique, the Inquisitor, and, therefore, before 1580, he wrote, as his friend Montalvan tells us, a drama called *La Pastoral de Jacinto*, which was the first he ever composed, in three acts; but this piece is not now known to exist, and there is no ground to suppose, that any of the pieces he wrote during this period of his life, were represented, or that he, in any way, appeared before the public as a dramatic writer, until after the defeat of the armada, and his return to Madrid. At this time, Cervantes was at Seville. The theatre of the capital, therefore, was, as it were, empty, and waiting for Lope, whose success was unexampled. This encouraged him to greater efforts. He devoted himself almost entirely to dramatic composition; and, for several years, no name, we are told, was known on the rolls of the theatre except his. Nor does it seem as if any other could have found room there; for, in 1604, he gives us a list of three hundred and forty-three pieces he had then written; in a poem published in 1609, he says, the week he composed it, he had finished his four hundred and eighty-third piece; in 1632, his friend, Montalvan, declares the number to have been fifteen



hundred that had been represented, without reckoning the shorter pieces; and in the eulogy at his death, the whole number of his plays is settled at eighteen hundred, and of his religious pieces (*autos*) at four hundred. The prodigious facility this implies, is further set forth, by what he says, in a poem published after his death; that more than a hundred of his pieces had been written, each in a day; and by the anecdote told by Montalvan, that he wrote five in a fortnight, and a large portion of another in four hours, without making any particular effort; so that after all, incredible as the account is, we are compelled to believe it, especially, as above five hundred of the pieces are extant to bear witness to the fact.

The plays with which Lope thus filled the Spanish theatre, were in a style and manner unknown before his time, but so different in their forms and subjects, that from his time and his influence, the drama in Spain fell into certain settled divisions, which it never afterwards entirely lost. In speaking of Lope's dramatic works, therefore, we must consider them in classes.

The *first* class of plays, then, that Lope wrote, and the one which, to this day, remains more popular in Spain than any other of the elder drama, consists of those called *Comedias de Capa y Espada*,—dramas of cloak and sword—which obtained their name from the circumstance, that the principal personages exhibited in them, belonged to that genteel portion of society, which was accustomed to wear cloaks and swords. Their principle is gallantry, such as it appeared in the age when Lope lived, mixed, however, with the most involved intrigue; generally accompanied with a hardly less involved underplot; and always extending to the length of regular pieces for the theatre, which was now settled at three *jornadas* or acts, each of which Lope recommended, should be compressed at least within the limits of a single day, though he is himself seldom so scrupulous as to do it. They are not properly comedies, for nothing is more customary in them, than duels, murders, and assassinations; and they are not properly tragedies, for they conclude happily, and are composed chiefly of humorous and sentimental dialogue, and carried on chiefly by lovers who are full of exaggerated feeling, or inferior characters, whose wit often savours of buffoonery. One of these pieces is, in fact, a dramatised novel, whose prominent characteristic is the complication of its intrigue, and the rapid and even tumultuous and disorderly movement of its action, which is often so confused, that if the spectator turns his attention for a moment from its progress, he loses the thread and is unable to regain it. It sometimes resembles the tales that were then so popular in the *gusto picaresco*, but oftener depends on a sentimental interest, though never without burlesque wit, and

always preserving the full character, costume, and manners, of the age and country.

Lope wrote a vast number of plays of this kind; several hundreds at least; and many of those we have read, show great dramatic talent. Among the best are, *La Hermosa Fea*, The Ugly Beauty; *Dineros son Calidad*, Money makes the Man; *La Moza de Cantaro*, The fair Water-Bearer; *Por la puente Juana*, Over the bridge Joanna; and *Antes que te cases, mire lo que haces*, or, When you marry, look before you leap. It is impossible, however, to understand the characteristics of this class of plays by definition or description, and therefore, we will attempt a compressed analysis of one of them—*Por la puente Juana*—which, though by no means one of our favourites among Lope's plays, may, perhaps, on that very account, be a fairer specimen.

Don John del Valle, and Doña Isabel de Navares, both of noble rank, are the lovers of the principal plot. Their marriage is hindered by their friends, and in the midst of their trials and difficulties, Don John kills his rival in one of those sudden duels with which the old Spanish drama abounds—the two lovers escape; but, by the pursuits of justice, are separated, and the lady Isabella takes refuge in a peasant's cottage, stripped of every thing by a faithless valet, and, therefore, perfectly forsaken and desolate. The discussion between the peasant and the lady may be given on average, but not as a favourable specimen of Lope's dialogue.

*Templad, Señora, el dolor, etc.*

*Peasant.* "Be not so overcome of grief, fair lady:  
You are not exiled to a foreign land.

*Isabella.* "O, my good friend, there is no desert waste  
More desolate than absence is to love.  
The sun sheds not his silvery beams to cheer  
Such inward darkness;—even the home we trust,  
Grows solitary, and the very life  
That dwelt within the soul seems fled. But oh!  
For my disastrous lot! for my most hopeless fate!  
Where shall I turn? where look for help or trust?  
The faithless slave, who left me here to seek  
My lord, (whom I confess Lord of my love)—  
That coward wretch has found a baser guilt  
Than I had known, and left me in a misery  
I had not feared. For am I not a woman?  
A woman, too, deserted, houseless, friendless?  
Yet still I feel, that I have acted well.  
I fled my home; but flight was all my hope—  
Sad hope! for now alas! cast on the world  
And far from all I love, even hope is gone!  
For never woman overcame her fate,  
When she was severed from the heart she loved."

By the advice of the peasant, she enters the service of Doña Antonia, a principal lady of Toledo, where she was left, and as-

sumes, to disguise herself, the name of Juana, and the dress of one in humble life. Her lover, Don John, in the mean time, had come to the same city, and, under the name of Diego Pacheco, had entered the service of the Marquis de Villena. They, of course, soon meet, but it is only to be involved in new anxieties. Juana is employed by Doña Antonia to carry a letter to Diego, with whom she is in love, while Diego, on the other hand, is commissioned by the Marquis to assist him in winning the affections of the fair Juana. Now, therefore, begins the underplot of the new attachments; and the play and intrigue of jealousy. The distressing situations are brought about naturally, but with great address. Each of the lovers is made to believe that the other has proved false, and each, therefore, seems willing to justify the other's suspicion, and so only aggravates the distress. At last, Juana, who seems on the point of yielding to the passion of the Marquis, takes the sudden resolution of explaining frankly, all the characters and disguises. Her lover overhears her, and is, therefore, satisfied of her fidelity, and the whole ends with an universal reconciliation.

To this class of drama, Lope not only gave its essential characteristics, but its peculiar forms. He invented the standing characters of the *Galan*, or lover, the *Dama*, or mistress, the *Barba*, or old man who opposes their union, and the *Gracioso*, who is a sort of parody of the *Galan*, and laughs at the author, the actors, and the audience. All these have since become standing characters in the old Spanish drama, and are at once as easily recognised by their distinctive attributes, as the *Arlecchino* of Venetian comedy; so that the whole is his creation, to which we should add a praise seldom due to inventors, that none have since surpassed him, or produced better plays of this class than his own.

The *second* class, into which the dramas invented by Lope may be divided, is that called in Spain *Comedias historiales*, or *Comedias heroicas*; that is, historical or heroic dramas. The chief difference between these and the last is, that their personages are of higher rank, such as kings and princes; and that they generally have an historical foundation; that they are more frequently grave and tragical; and that they are intended to produce a more imposing and theatrical effect. They have, however, the same underplots; the same play of jealousy; the same imbroglío and intrigue; and the same parody and humour of the *Gracioso*, which are found in the *Comedias de Capa y Espada*.

Lope wrote a great number of this class of Dramas—almost as many, probably, as of the first. Among the most esteemed, are two on the story of Bernardo del Carpio; one on that of Belisarius; and a great number on different portions of Spanish history, resorting generally to the old chronicles and ballads for his

choicest materials. The one, however, which, out of those we have read, has most interested us, is, *Estrella de Sevilla*, which preserves almost uniformly a tragic tone, has a high poetical merit, and is liable to few of the objections that are commonly urged against the Spanish drama. For these reasons, but especially because it is contained in the volume we are noticing, and is, therefore, accessible to all, we will give some further account of it, as an example of the entire class.

It is founded on the history of Sancho the Valiant, king of Castille, who, arriving in about 1290 at Seville, where the scene is laid, hears such accounts of the beauty of Estrella, that he determines to obtain her as his mistress. For this purpose, he sends for her brother, Bustos de Tabera, and loads him with marks of personal favour. The high, stern character of Bustos, is immediately announced. He receives, with grateful loyalty, the honours offered him, but is put effectually on his guard, by their profusion. As he leaves the royal presence, he says aside:

“Such sudden favours cannot come to good.  
Why should he trust a man he never knew?  
Honours like these are but disguised bribes  
To win my virtue; not rewards for merit.

The king now makes his attempt. Bustos is engaged away from home; and Matilda, Estrella's maid, is bought. Bustos, however, returns unexpectedly, overhears, in the darkness, a man's voice, and draws upon him. The incognito, who is the king, and who had not yet entered the house, being driven to the wall, avows who he is to save his life. Bustos affects to disbelieve him, and, under that pretence, upbraids him bitterly for his baseness, but suffers him to escape. On his return to the palace, the king, in the midst of his passion, sees hanging in the dawn on the castle walls, the form of Matilda, conveyed there by Bustos, as a warning, that the king should no further prosecute his infamous attempt.

Revenge, however, is as necessary to the king, as it is dangerous, from the high character and great consideration of Bustos; and he resorts to the most odious and degrading means to obtain it. At the instigation of his minister of state, he sends for Sancho Ortis de las Roelas, a brave and noble soldier, whose valour had obtained for him the name of the Cid of Andalusia; and requires him to put to death the person, whose name he gives him sealed in a paper, to be opened afterwards. Sancho claims, for his reward, the bride he shall ask; and the king assents, but does not know, though the spectators know it, that this bride is no other than Estrella, to whom Sancho Ortis was already, in private, affianced. A part of the dialogue, in which this arrangement is made, is spirited and characteristic—in full accordance with the devoted loyalty, which then, and even now, is an essen-



tial constituent of the Spanish national feeling. The king, after introducing the matter generally, goes on to say:—

"Much it concerns the safety of the state,  
A man should die;—should die by secret hands;  
But in the circuit of this loyal city,  
I can find none to trust so true as you.

*Sancho.* "The man is surely guilty?"

*King.* "Aye, he is.

*Sancho.* "Then wherefore should he die by secret hands?  
If justice and the law demand his life,  
In public let his guilty blood be shed;  
For he who privately and darkly strikes,  
Seems more to strike for vengeance than for justice.  
I speak but my poor thought in humbleness,  
And pray my lord, to grant his pardon with it.

*King.* "Sancho, I have not called you here to be  
A traitor's advocate, but to procure  
A traitor's death. And, since it is my will,  
That justice should be done in secrecy,  
You may be sure, your honour shall be safe.  
But tell me, Sancho, he that draws upon  
The royal life, deserves he death?"

*Sancho.* "Aye, at the stake.

*King.* "And then, if he, the wretch of whom we speak  
Have thus assail'd my life?"

*Sancho.* "My liege, he dies.  
I do intreat his death. Were he my brother,  
He should not be spared.

*King.* "Give me your hand and word.

*Sancho.* "And with them take my heart and faith.

*King.* "Strike then;—but mark me and be sure you do it,  
When he heeds not; when he looks not for the blow.

*Sancho.* "My liege, my name's Roela, and I bear  
A soldier's spotless sword. Would you disgrace it?  
Would you bid me learn th' assassin's trade,  
And shrink from honourable, open strife?  
No—no—my Lord,—there is no way but one—  
In Seville; in the public street or public mart,  
Amidst the throng of multitudes, and in  
The face of day—there will I meet him—  
Man to man, and sword to sword.

*King.* "Even as thou wilt, then, Sancho. But take, first,  
This paper, signed by my hand. It is  
The royal pledge to hold thee safe and free  
From punishment in all thou undertakest.

*Sancho reads it: then, after a pause, says:*

"Does then my liege so meanly deem of me?  
Give me a paper? Give me seals and signs?  
O, no, my lord, your word is my best warrant,  
And such base parchments do but cast a doubt  
Upon my confidence, and your sure honour.  
Perish such deeds! (*He tears the paper.*)

"What need of bonds?"

For, surer than all witnesses and seals,  
Our honours both are bound—mine to avenge  
Your wrongs, and your's to hold me safe."

After this genuinely Spanish scene, Sancho goes out and opens his other paper, which informs him, that the person he is to challenge is his best friend, and the brother of his betrothed bride. He is confounded; but, though overwhelmed with grief, he does not hesitate in what he considers his plain duty, since that friend had attempted the royal life. In the mean time, Bustos, alarmed at the king's base projects, has informed his sister of all that has passed; and they have agreed, that the marriage with Sancho shall be at once solemnized. Bustos is actually on his way to give Sancho this news of his happiness, when he meets him, is rudely challenged in the public street, and there slain; while Estrella, in the midst of the most delightful expressions of innocent joy at the prospect of her marriage, is suddenly summoned to receive her brother's dead body, and the assurance that he has been slain by her lover—a tragical change and contrast, which produce one of the most moving scenes in the drama of any country.

Sancho is immediately arrested, and thrown into prison. He avows the murder, but refuses to give his motives or defence. Estrella claims of the king, her right, according to ancient Spanish usage, to decide the fate of her brother's murderer. The king grants it, and gives her the keys of the prison. Estrella goes there, and offers Sancho his liberty, which he refuses, determined to die, if he cannot be saved by being honourably exonerated. The king endeavours to corrupt his own judges; but they firmly refuse, and pronounce sentence of death on Sancho. The king then persuades Estrella to withdraw the prosecution; but the judges sternly require that justice shall have its course. Finding, therefore, all other means fail, and urged by his own remorse, the king confesses his own guilt, and pardons Sancho. He then urges Estrella to marry Sancho, but, though she does not conceal her love for him, she refuses, and the piece ends with an intimation of her resolution to enter a religious house, and leave the world entirely.

It is not possible, perhaps, to give a more striking specimen of what is peculiar to the heroic drama of Spain, than Estrella of Seville, which is still acted on the Spanish stage, though altered much for the worse, under the name of Sancho Ortis de las Roelas. Turning, then, from this class of dramas, we come to the *third* class to which Lope gave its character and direction—the *Comedias de Santos*, or Dramas of Saints—dramas, in which the lives, or part of the lives, of Saints, Patriarchs, or other holy persons, are employed, and religious instruction provided in the serious portions, while wit and entertainment are afforded in the remainder. Lope wrote a great number of these dramas, as well as of the others—above an hundred, certainly—and was partly led to it by the force of circumstances,

which he could not control. The secular theatre was not then in good reputation in Spain, on many accounts. The clergy, in particular, opposed it almost uniformly, as a licentious amusement; and the government frequently issued edicts, restraining, embarrassing, or altogether forbidding its representations. The actors and their authors, therefore, endeavoured to attach themselves to the religious interest, and wrote and acted pieces of a religious tendency, to conciliate its opposition; paid a regular rent for their privileges, to convents and hospitals; and were prompt and forward to contribute their part to the general amusement and edification of the multitude, on festivals and other occasions, when the church would vouchsafe to accept their assistance. Sometimes they were successful, and the ecclesiastical influence was no longer exerted against them. In 1587, for instance, just before Lope began to write for the theatre, we find them almost authorized; but, after that, as their number was much increased, and as the dresses and dances grew offensive, they were again discouraged; and, at one time, the severity went so far, as to prohibit almost all the pieces then known on the public theatre, and particularly those of Lope De Vega, which were selected by name, and distinctly forbidden. This, no doubt, was the period when the *Comedias de Santos* were in their most flourishing estate:—the period, we mean, about 1600, when the severest decree was put forth against the secular theatre, and when, as we are told by Rojas, who was then alive, every Saint in the calendar had his appropriate play.

These sacred dramas, have some resemblance and relationship to the ancient mysteries, which had been represented for centuries in the churches; but the form given to them by Lope, was the same he gave to the other species of the national drama. It was but the monk's robe and cowl, thrown loosely over the fashions of the time, without concealing, and almost without disguising them. They are divided into the three recognised acts, or *Jornadas*, which, however, are often little connected; their scenes are laid on earth, in heaven, hell, and purgatory, with equal ease and promptness; and the personages are not only human, angelic, and divine, but all sorts of allegorical personifications, and all the forms of the fallen spirits. Among the great number that Lope wrote, those we have found the most curious, are, *La Creacion del Mundo*, the Creation of the World; *El Nacimiento de Christo*, the Birth of Christ; *El Animal Profeta*, the Prophetic Beast; the two he wrote for the canonization of *San Isidro*; and his *San Nicolas de Tolentino*. The last, though not the best, if regarded merely in a technical point of view, is so characteristic of the species, that a partial examination of it will give a sufficiently distinct idea of the class to which it belongs.

It is founded on the life of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino—the first act embracing the period when he entered a convent; the second, that in which he stayed the progress of a famine; and the third, that of his death, followed by his appearance in glory, rescuing souls from purgatory. Each of these acts, is, indeed, according to the old custom of the Mysteries, a distinct drama, having its separate action, and separate dramatis personæ, so that it will be necessary to analyse only one, in order to comprehend the character of the remainder. The first act, then, has no less than twenty-one personages to carry it on; among whom are God, the Virgin Mary, Mercy, Justice, History, the Devil, &c. It opens with a spirited scene, in the midst of a public masquerading, from which a Mask, who is no other than Lucifer himself, comes up to Orson, a dissolute relation of Nicholas de Tolentino, and draws him away from Nicholas, to attempt an assignation with a lady to whom he is attached. At the suggestion of the Mask, Orson undertakes to enter the window of the house where the lady lives, but finds a death's head posted in it, falls in his fright, and is taken up dead; the Devil, at the same time, dropping his mask, and rejoicing that one of his followers, at least, has perished in an act of mortal sin. At this moment, the scene suddenly opens, and the Judge of the Earth is found with Mercy and Justice on each side of him. The Devil prefers his suit in form, and gives in a list of Orson's crimes. Mercy intercedes for him, but the Devil insists, and Justice maintains the claim. In the midst of this discussion, which grows warm and irreverent, the Virgin enters, and a respectful silence of the parties is enjoined by the Judge himself. The Virgin pleads the merits and prayers of the pious Nicholas to save his cousin. They are admitted by the Judge to be sufficient; Justice consents; and the Devil ends with bitter imprecations, declaring that if he is thus defrauded of his just rights, he may as well think no more of his accustomed trade in souls. He intimates, however, that he will yet be revenged on Nicholas himself, whose piety has been so injurious to him. In the mean time, the Saviour of the world has been, in the shape of a poor pilgrim, to the door of Nicholas, and having received alms and kindness, goes away, promising, that the gifts bestowed on him, shall at last be seen as the acknowledged signs of the good man's glorification in a better world. The scene, immediately afterwards, opens in a public square, where we have, as in a similar scene in Goethe, the common conversation of the loungers; some talking about love, and some about business, but Nicholas occupied with pious thoughts. Suddenly, Father Roger, a famous preacher, rises in the midst of the multitude, and delivers a sermon, not without eloquence, but with a strange mixture of wild allegory, and gross, sensual



fanaticism, taking for his text the parable of the Prodigal Son. All are moved by it; all crowd round the preacher to kiss his garments, and share some of the power that goes out of him; but none has been so much touched as the young Nicholas, who now finally resolved to become a monk. A scene of considerable poetical merit follows, in which his father and mother consent, with natural regret, to his determination; and the act then concludes with a scene of merely farcical parody, between Nicholas's servant, who is the buffoon of the piece, and a servant maid, to whom he was engaged to be married, but whom he now leaves, in order to follow his master into a religious seclusion, which he is every moment making ridiculous, by the manner in which he speaks of it.

Gross, however, as the *Comedias de Santos* must appear, from this very specimen, they were by no means the most indecorous form of the religious drama, which received its character from Lope de Vega; for, his *Autos Sacramentales*, which constitute the *fourth* class of his plays, much surpass them, in all the peculiar attributes of a gross and irreverent fanaticism. These *Sacramental Acts*, as they are called, were popular pieces, of half an hour or three quarters of an hour long, which were performed in the streets and public squares, during the gorgeous processions of the *Corpus Christi*. At that festival, which, with its different ceremonies, usually occupied about a month, during which the theatres were shut, canopies, with altars under them richly ornamented, were, and, in fact, are still, erected near the houses of the principal persons of the court and government; and the procession, composed of all ranks, in vast numbers, who devote themselves to the occasion, stop with the sacrament under these canopies, and perform there certain acts of homage and devotion. In such processions, or rather following them, there anciently went large cars filled with actors, (such as Don Quixote met in his journey through Arragon, disguised as Death, the Devil, Love, &c.,) who stopped on stages opposite these canopies, and performed a short religious farce, if we may use the expression, which thence received the name of *Auto Sacramentale*, or *Sacramental Act*. These pieces, which have an obvious relationship to the old Mysteries, can be traced back to 1568; but the oldest one we now know of, to which a date can be affixed, is one by Lope, represented at Valencia in 1598, on the eighth day of the festival, and a very short time after Philip III., in the same city, had married Margaret of Austria. Its subject is the Marriage of Christ to the Soul of Man; but there is an indecorous confusion intentionally kept up, between the allegorical mystery, and the royal ceremony that had just preceded it; and there is, throughout the whole piece, a mixture of gallantry and buffoonery, with the holiest feelings of religion, that is perfectly revolt-

ing. Another of Lope's autos, is called the *Name of Jesus*, and has, for its personages, Doubtful, a shepherd, who disbelieves; Divine Love; the World, &c. ; and the subject is, the rejoicings and other circumstances, that followed giving a name to the Saviour, who, as a child, performs a principal part in the piece. Yet another is called *The Priest's First Mass*, in which a buffoon peasant is the prominent personage, but whose subject is the sacrament, given by the Saviour in person, from his own body and blood, and administered by Saint John and Saint Paul, to certain allegorical personages, who are called Portugal, Castille, Toledo, Biscay, and the Indies; and who in return surrender up their several dominions to his sole authority—the whole forming a mixture of buffoonery, with a gross and loathsome fanaticism, which can hardly be credited, except by those who have gone through it for themselves. Lope wrote four hundred of these pieces. During his life, and for above a century later, no pains or expense were spared to give them effect and influence in the capital and large cities. The best companies of actors were obtained for the purpose; immense processions, with much show, apparatus, and dramatic arrangement, were led out to do them honour; all the principal poets of the seventeenth century, particularly Calderon, Montalvan, and Solis, were paid enormous prices for writing them; they were looked upon as religious ceremonies, intended for general edification; wax candles were kept reverently burning, during their representation, as round the altar of a church; and, in different parts of the exhibition, the multitude knelt as for the elevation of the host. So things continued, until far into the last century. Few autos were, probably, written after the year 1700; but the old ones continued to be repeated with success; and it was not until 1765, that public opinion had made such progress as to permit their final suppression, by a royal edict, on the ground of their profaneness and indecency.

One other species of dramatic composition is found among the works of Lope—the *Entremes*, so called, from the Italian *intramesso*, a short farce put in, as the word implies, between some other forms of entertainment. Its origin is to be traced to the pieces of Lope de Rueda; for, as Lope de Vega himself says, when the drama grew grave, and kings and princes were brought upon the stage in heroic costume, then, between the acts, was inserted one of these old farces, or some other piece written in imitation of them. How many Lope composed, we know not. The accounts imply vast numbers. We have seen about thirty, all sustained by characters of the lower class of society, and almost all marked with a spirited humour, such as belongs to the broadest farce. They contain little or no plot; and are, in fact, composed almost entirely of a droll dialogue, to

amuse the audience between scenes of grave interest, which, when it has been protracted as long as the time will permit, is suddenly stopped, without any other reason. Some of them are hardly ten minutes in length, and some would last half an hour; some are in prose, and some in verse; some depend for their humour on the dialect and vulgarisms of the persons represented; and some on their follies or faults; but all have the single purpose of producing merriment; and, from those we have read, we should imagine that most of Lope's must have been successful.

In these five different forms, the *Comedias de Capa y Espada*; the *Comedias Heroicas*; the *Comedias de Santos*; the *Autos Sacramentales*; and the *Entremeses*, Lope made those great exertions, which settled the elder Spanish drama; which gave its direction to the only national theatre of his country; and which made his own influence in it permanent and perceptible, so long as that theatre lasted. For, there is no reason to think, that any thing effectual had been done for the national drama before his time, except what had been done by Cervantes, and by Lope de Rueda and his followers. All this, by Cervantes' own admission, Lope de Vega set aside at once, and constituted himself sole monarch of the scene.

His purpose, however, was by no means to organize a regular drama. He knew what a regular drama was, it is true, for he was a learned man, and had before him the translations of Villalobos, Oliva, and Abril; but his intention was to please—to please *all*; and, therefore, he inquired only what was suited to the taste of his times, rude as he knew it to be. He says expressly, in the Art of the Drama, the best of his didactic efforts:—

“I lock up every rule before I write,  
Plautus and Terence drive from out my sight,  
Lest rage should teach these injured wits to join,  
And their dumb tomes cry shame on works like mine.  
To vulgar standards, then, I fit my play,  
Writing at ease ;—for, since the public pay,  
'Tis just, I think, we by their wishes steer,  
And write the nonsense, which they love to hear.”

With this purpose, Lope, of course, never attempted to make any accurate or technical division of his theatre. All his pieces, under whatever name they pass, except the very shortest, are *comedias*, which we must by no means translate *comedies*, but *dramas*, since no other name is general and comprehensive enough, to include all their manifold varieties and contradictions. For, besides all other modifications, we have his secular and divine plays, plays satirical and burlesque, those that are comic, and those which are serious, those drawn from high life, and those drawn from the vulgar. There is, however, notwithstanding all this diversity in their forms, one common principle that runs



through the whole, and may, perhaps, be considered as almost uniting them into one class. His purpose was, to interest and please universally; and to effect this, all his pieces that are long enough, are *dramatised novels, or stories of involved and intriguing incidents, thrown into the shape of plays*. This, indeed, in one of his *Novelas*, he declares to be the very principle of the drama. The story, therefore—the mere interest of an involved plot, is, in Lope, more important than any thing else; and to it, the power and variety of the poetry, and the drawing and preservation of the characters, are altogether subordinate. To increase this interest, the most opposite materials are combined; tragedy and farce; murders, duels, assassinations, and buffoonery; fanaticism and impiety; any thing, in short, that can make the whole attractive, as a dramatic story. And, in this way, it must be confessed, Lope was, to an extraordinary degree, successful. His power, in the invention of interesting plots, is absolutely prodigious. No matter how wild the materials; no matter how much the unities and proprieties of dramatic composition may be violated—he is never dull; he never fails, indeed, to fasten our attention, to stir, to excite, to interest us.

The favour and applause with which he was followed, was in proportion to the great talent and skill he thus showed, in adapting his drama to the times. Multitudes of writers appeared under his influences; but no name, it may be truly said, obtained authority, during the thirty years he wrote for the theatre, except his own; and he gave the drama such a wide extension, and a popularity so general, that, from having, when he began, hardly two companies of miserable strolling players at Madrid, there were, at the time of his death, no less than twelve companies, which together comprehended almost a thousand persons. Nor was his success confined to his own country. His fame was familiar in Italy, and his plays were often performed in their original language, at Rome, Naples, and Milan; he contributed more or less to the formation and progress of the dramatic literature of every country in Europe, by throwing into the world such a multitude of dramas, at a time when the Spanish was more popular and prevalent than any other language; and, singular as it may seem, he had the strange, and, we apprehend, solitary distinction, of having one of his pieces represented before the Sultan, in the seraglio, at Constantinople. With this unexampled popularity, therefore, added to a singular aptitude for dramatic composition—without a predecessor, and without a rival—it was evidently Lope's ambition, to determine the characteristics and direction of his country's drama. He succeeded; and from his time, to the period when the French taste and system came in with the French dynasty, the Spanish theatre remained on the foundations where he established it, and, on



which, till that period, all the Spanish dramatic writers are found.

But while, in the phrase of Cervantes, Lope thus made himself sole monarch of the stage, he at the same time surrounded himself with a multitude of imitators and followers. In 1615, when Cervantes, compelled by his wants, published a collection of plays, entirely unlike the *Numancia*, and the others he had written thirty years before, and altogether in the popular and triumphant manner of Lope, he speaks of Mira de Mescua, Gaspar de Aguilar, Guillen de Castro, Luis Velez de Guebara, Avila, and several others, all of whom are followers of Lope, as already favourably known on the stage.

We possess the works of all these authors, and it would be curious and not uninteresting to enter into an examination of their peculiar and characteristic merits; but the number increases so rapidly, as we come down in the series, that we must, in what remains of our present notice, confine ourselves to the most prominent. The first we shall take, is, *Guillen de Castro*, a Valencian, who flourished as a dramatic writer at Madrid, from 1615 to 1626. Of his plays, twenty-six we know have been published, of most unequal merit. His *Amor Constante*, (Constant Love,) is distinguished by an uncommonly happy versification, and by the beauty and tenderness of the dialogues, between Nicida and Zelamo, who have been separated fifteen years, and have yet retained the feelings of an early attachment. *La Piedad en la Justicia*, (Mercy and Justice,) is, on the contrary, formed of a tissue of horrors and extravagancies. *Don Quixote*, is an easy, light, drama, on the touching story of Dorothea, in the first part of the romance, supported by that of Lucinda, for an underplot, in which the Knight and Esquire appear chiefly at the end of each act, and do little more than play the part of buffoons. The rest of Guillen's pieces, as far as we have read them, are, in general, not better than these, though the versification of most of them is fluent and harmonious, and nearly all contain passages of a gentle tenderness, for which Cervantes has appropriately praised them.

The name of Guillen de Castro, however, is always associated with that of the *Cid*, whose fame, through him, and through Corneille, his imitator, has obtained its chief honours outside of the Pyrenees. On the history of this romantic hero, to whom so many popular traditions have fondly attached themselves, Guillen wrote two plays, called *Las Mocedades del Cid*, (the Youth of the Cid,) parts, first and second. They are both founded on the common ballads of the country, which, in the time of Guillen, were sung in the streets, even more frequently than they are now; and formed, therefore, a part of the earliest recollections of the whole population. He was, of course, fortu-

nate in the choice of a subject, on which he was sure of commanding the sympathies of his audience ; and, in the first part, to which we shall confine our remarks, he was certainly successful in the use he made of it.

Its story is that of the well known insult of the Cid's aged father, by the father of Ximena, with whom the Cid was in love—the Cid's revenge of the insult, by the death of the offender, in a duel—Ximena's claim to the king for justice against her lover, to whom she is yet tenderly attached—the Cid's escape from the punishment she claims, by his prodigious victories over the Moors, who then threatened the capital of the kingdom—the confession of Ximena's love procured, by false news of the Cid's death—and her final consent to marry him, drawn from her, by divine intimations, and by the natural progress of her admiration and attachment, during a long series of exploits achieved by the Cid in her honour, and for the defence of his country.

This play has become well known, by name at least, throughout Europe, from the circumstance that Corneille, who was a contemporary of Guillen, and whose attention had been drawn to it, when the contests about the organization of the French drama were at their height, made use of it, in 1635, as the basis of his own tragedy of the Cid, which did more by its permanent success, than any other single play, to determine the character and foundations of the tragic theatre, not in France merely, but throughout the continent of Europe. But, though Corneille has made many alterations, not a few of which are judicious, he has not, in our estimation, added to the spirit and power of the whole. He has, indeed, sometimes fallen into considerable errors. By compressing the time of the action within twenty-four hours, instead of suffering it to extend through many months, as it does in the original, he is guilty of the absurdity of overcoming Ximena's scruples to the murder of her father, while his dead body is still before her eyes. By changing the cause of the quarrel, he has made it less natural. By a singular mistake in chronology, he places the Spanish court at Seville, which was not wrested from the Moors, till two centuries after the Cid's death. And by the general straightening of the subject within the limited conventions, that were then beginning to bind the French theatre, he has, indeed, avoided such absurdities as the introduction of the miracle of St. Lazarus, and the contest with a giant;—but he has hindered the free and easy movement of the action, and diminished its general spirit and effect. Guillen, on the contrary, took the fresh and original traditions of his country, sometimes with even an unwise fidelity, just as he found them in the old poetry and old chronicles: but, in this way, he has preserved the very spirit of the times he de-

scribes, and introduces with effect into his dialogue, passages from the ancient ballads, on which, indeed, no small portion of the interest and poetry of his piece depend.

The following is a specimen of this use of the old ballads. It is taken from Ximena's spirited complaint to the king:—

*Xim.* “Señor, hoy hace tres meses,  
Que murió mi padre á manos  
De un rapaz, á quien las tuyas  
Para matador criaron.  
Don Rodrigo de Bivar  
Soberbio, orgulloso, y bravo,  
Profanió tus leyes justas,  
Y tú le amparas ufano.  
Son tus ojos sus espías,  
Tu retrete, su sagrado,  
Tu favor, sus alas libres;  
Y su libertad mis daños.  
Si de Dios los Reyes justos  
La semejanza y el cargo  
Representan en la tierra,” etc.

*Jornada Primera.*

“Señor, hoy hazen dos meses  
Que murió mi padre á manos  
De un muchacho, que las tuyas  
Para matador criaron.  
Don Rodrigo de Vivar  
Rapaz, orgulloso, y bravo  
Profana tus leyes justas  
Y tu le amparas profano.  
Son tus ojos sus espías,  
Tu retrete su sagrado,  
Tu favor sus alas libres  
Y su libertad mis daños.  
Si de Dios los Reyes justos  
La semejanza y el cargo  
Representan en la tierra,” etc.

*Romancero Gen. 1602. f. 213. Jo.*

Other passages can easily be found, equally striking.

Above all, he has imparted to the whole action a strong national air and colouring; and while he gives to the characters, the full play of their individual passions, he has preserved the Spanish loyalty, honour, and enthusiasm, which, with the contest of opposite feelings in the heart of the hero, during the first part of the piece, and of Ximena, during the last, constitute the interest of the plot. The scene between the king and his council, in which the Cid's aged father is disgraced by a blow, which his infirmities prevent him from avenging; several of the scenes between the Cid and his mistress; and several between her and the king, are managed with dramatic skill, and a genuine poetical enthusiasm. Perhaps, however, the following scene, where the Cid's father is waiting for his son in the evening, at the place he had appointed to meet him, after the duel, if he should be successful, is as striking as any; and, in our estimation, its original is at least equal to any passage in Corneille, and superior, certainly, to the corresponding passage in the French play, which may be found in the fifth and sixth scenes of the third act:—

*(The Father enters alone, speaking.)*

“Each shade I pass amidst the darkness,  
Seems to wear his form, and mocks my eager arms.  
Oh, why, why comes he not? I mark'd the spot,  
I gave the sign, and yet he is not here.  
Has he neglected? Can he disobey?  
Or, must I find, at last, that he has failed?  
The very thought freezes my breaking heart!  
Perhaps he may be slain or hurt; wounded, or seiz'd?  
Kind Heaven! how many ways of suffering  
Fear finds out! But hark! Is it his footsteps?  
Oh no! I am not worth such happiness!

'Tis but the echo of my grief, I hear.  
 But hark again! Methinks it is a gallop  
 On the clattering stones. He springs from off his steed!  
 Has God then given me such happiness?—  
 (*The Cid enters.*) Is it my son?

*Cid.* "My father!

*Father.*

"May I trust myself, my child?  
 Am I, indeed, within thine arms? Let me  
 Compose my thoughts, that I may honour thee  
 As greatly as thou hast deserved! But why  
 Hast thou delayed? And yet, since thou art here,  
 Why should I weary thee with questioning?  
 O, thou hast bravely borne thyself, my son;  
 Hast bravely stood the proof; hast vindicated well  
 Mine ancient name and strength; and well hast paid  
 The debt of life, which thou receivedst from me.  
 Come near to me, my son; touch the white hairs,  
 Whose honour thou hast saved from infamy;  
 And kiss the cheek, whose stain thy valour  
 Hath washed out in blood. O my son, my son;  
 The pride within me that was never bent to man,  
 Humbles itself before thy presence,  
 And owns the greater power, that has preserved  
 From shame, the blood that erst hath honoured kings.

*Cid.* "My lord! my lord! Remember who I am,  
 And who you are. If I have strength or valour,  
 Name or worth, Oh! whence have I received them  
 But from thee, my father?"

*Father.*

"Nay, nay, my son,  
 But I *must* do thee grateful reverence;  
 For if I gave thee once the doubtful gift of life,  
 Thou hast repaid the debt a thousand fold,  
 Since thine own arm has rescued my grey hairs  
 From such disgrace and infamy."

If Guillen had always written thus, he would have found few rivals in the dramatic literature of any country. But he began late, and under discouraging circumstances. Most of his plays bear marks of carelessness and haste. The second part of the *Cid*, founded chiefly on events that took place at the siege of Zamora, when King Sancho was assassinated, is much inferior to the first, and contains passages which are even ridiculous and revolting, from the gross neglect of all dramatic proprieties. But the first part has been enough for his reputation. Corneille's imitation of the plot, and his translation of large portions of the dialogue in his own *Cid*, have made Guillen known, at least by name, throughout Europe, while those who can read his plays in the original, will always bear testimony to the richness and inventive power of his dramatic genius.

After the time of Guillen de Castro, the theatre continued more crowded than ever. We have Jacinto Cordero; Gabriel Tellez, commonly called Tirso de Molina; Juan Perez de Montalvan; Alvaro de Cubillo; Antonio de Mendoza, and others, who would deserve special notice in a history of the Spanish



drama. In 1632, we have a list of no less than seventy-six writers for the theatre in Castille alone, excluding all other parts of Spain, in some of which, especially in Valencia and Andalusia, dramatic talent was by no means of rare occurrence.

At this period, however, a remarkable impulse was given to the progress of the drama in Spain. To Philip III., cold, severe, and fanatical, succeeded, in 1621, Philip IV., only seventeen years old, a monarch of talent and spirit; but devoted to pleasure, and extravagantly fond of the theatre. All restrictions were, of course, soon removed from the stage. The number of actors and companies was increased to a licentious extravagance; the theatres, or rather court-yards, were enlarged, multiplied, and made more splendid than they had been before; the king had more than one private theatre of luxurious magnificence; his favourite, the Count-duke of Olivares, of whom we have such a living portrait in Gil Blas, erected another, on a floating basis, in the midst of a sheet of water, in the royal gardens, where, in 1631, he gave his master one of the most sumptuous festivals ever offered to royalty; and, finally, the king himself wrote plays, and even took part in occasional dramatic improvisations, which, as the most whimsical luxury of the art, were practised at the Buen Retiro, by a few court favourites. The reign of Philip IV., therefore, was the period when the drama in Spain was most encouraged, by a fortunate concurrence of external circumstances, and when in fact it spread out more widely, and had the most fashionable, as well as the most extensive success.

Of all the authors produced or sustained by this state of things, none was so remarkable, or has sent down such a reputation to our own times, as *Pedro Calderon de la Barca*. He was already known as a dramatic author, when Lope died, in 1635. The next year, he was called to court, and continued the reigning favourite on the theatre, from that time till his death, in 1687. He was not so prolific as Lope, but still, the number of his pieces was extraordinary. He wrote an hundred entremeses, or short farces; an hundred Sacramental Autos; two hundred Loas, or dramatic prologues; and above an hundred and twenty dramas of the full length of three acts. At least, so stands the account, in the narrative of one of his most intimate friends. But, from the very condition of the theatre when Calderon lived, many of these pieces, thrown off at short warning, and, perhaps, never represented but once, perished with him. The most complete edition, however, of his works, contained seventy-three Sacramental Autos, seventy-four Loas, and one hundred and seven dramas of the regular length. On these his reputation now rests.

There is, however, a considerable difficulty in examining them. We can make no such definite classes as in the case of Lope. Some of Calderon's pieces, indeed, like *No Siempre lo peor*

es cierto, (the worst is not always sure,) and *Dar tiempo al tiempo*, (Give time a chance,) are purely comedias de Capa y Espada; while others, like *El Principe Constante*, (the firm-hearted Prince,) and *Amor despues de la Muerte*, (Love ends not with life,) are purely comedias heroicas. But this is accidental. He finally settled the principle, that, whatever would amuse and interest the audience, by an intriguing plot, full of romantic feeling, was a good drama; and he has availed himself of the privilege this implies, with all the license of a popular author, who knew how to use the fashions and feelings of his time, for his own fame and success. He has, therefore, rioted through all classes of subjects, and seems to take a pleasure in breaking down whatever divisions of the drama had been attempted by Lope. In this way, we have ancient history travestied in Spanish costumes, as in "*The Arms of Beauty*," (*Las Armas de la Hermosura*;) where Coriolanus, instead of coming forth the stern hero, to whom we have been accustomed in Livy and Shakspeare, is an intriguing gallant, with a buffoon servant to make sport for us. Mythology is produced in the same way; as in the story of Cephalus and Procris, (*Cefalo y Procris*;) in that of Phæton, (*El Hijo del Sol Faeton*;) and that of Perseus and Andromeda, (*Fortunas de Andromeda y Perseo*;) in all which, the gallant, intriguing spirit of the Spanish drama, is as fully sustained, and the Spanish national character as fully brought out, as if the whole Pantheon had been subjects of Philip III. And, finally, in many other pieces, as in the Wonder-working Magician, (*El Magico Prodigioso*;) Angels, Devils, and Miracles are produced, as if they were to be met with every day in the streets, the Prado, and the Tertulias of Madrid. The principle, therefore, first established by Lope, that the Spanish national stage was to maintain its peculiar character, by representing dramatised novels, founded on intriguing plots, love, and the Castilian point of honour, was now forced by Calderon to the utmost limit to which it was capable of being carried, and being applied to all classes and forms of the drama, broke down all its distinctions, and made it, in fact, under whatever names it might be called, substantially the same thing.

It is impossible, of course, to go into a detailed examination of Calderon's dramas; but we will endeavour to give some idea of their general characteristics, by an analysis of two of them.

The first we shall take for this purpose, is, *El Principe Constante*, (*The Firm-hearted Prince*;) one of the pieces contained in the volume of Mr. Sales. It is founded on the expedition against the Moors, in 1438, by the Portuguese, under their Infante, Don Ferdinand, which ended in their total defeat, before Tangiers, where the Infante remained a slave, condemned to the most cruel and degrading suffering until his death, in 1443, and

whence his bones were brought, as those of a saint and martyr, and buried at home, with religious pomp, in 1473. A part of this story, which Calderon found in the old, beautiful, picturesque Portuguese chronicle of Ruy de Pina, he took for the subject of his drama; but added to it the magnanimous self-devotion of Regulus, recorded in Livy.

The scene opens with lyrical beauty, in the gardens of the King of Fez, whose daughter is enamoured of Muley, the king's principal general. Immediately afterwards, Muley enters, and announces the approach of a Christian armament, commanded by the two Portuguese Infantas. The king orders his general to collect such force as he may be able to find for the emergency, and, if possible, to prevent their landing; adding, at the same time, the following characteristic exhortation:—

“Go forth to our defence,  
And let the scourge of our great Prophet's power,  
Wave fearfully in thine unconquer'd hand:  
Tear from the book of Death its bloodiest leaf  
And let this day bear witness to the dark  
Fulfilment of that ancient prophecy,  
Which promised erst to make the sandy shore  
Of Africa, a sepulchre of blood  
To bury the proud crown of Portugal.”

The Portuguese, however, land without much difficulty, and obtain an easy victory over Muley, who is himself taken prisoner, by the Infante Ferdinand in person. A long dialogue immediately follows, formed out of an unfortunate amplification of a beautiful ballad by Gongora, in which the Moor explains his attachment to the daughter of the King of Fez, and the probability that she will be forced to marry the Prince of Morocco, if he remains in captivity. The Portuguese, with chivalrous generosity, immediately gives up his prisoner; but, just afterwards, he is again attacked by a large army brought by the Prince of Morocco to the assistance of his ally, and the Infante himself, in his turn, is made prisoner. From this moment begins the tragic trial of the Infante's patience and fortitude, that gives its name to the piece. The King of Fez, at first, treats his prisoner generously, but will not give him up, except on condition the important fortress of Ceuta, which had just been wrested from him, is paid as the ransom. On hearing the news of Ferdinand's captivity, his brother, the King of Portugal, dies of grief; but leaves orders in his will, to have Ceuta surrendered, and his brother set free. Henry, another of the brothers, comes with the news, ready to fulfil the injunction of the deceased monarch;—but in the midst of his message, Ferdinand breaks in upon him, and reveals to us, at once, his whole character:

“Nay, Henry; nay, my brother, say no more;  
It is not seemly in a Prince of Portugal,

It were not seemly in the meanest serf,  
 That sits beneath his throne, to *speak* of it.  
 The king, my brother,—who is now in Heaven,—  
 May well have left such seeming orders  
 In his testament, though never with a thought,  
 They would be thus fulfill'd. For, when he says ;—  
 'Surrender Ceuta'—he but means to say ;  
 Use every art of Peace ; urge fiercest war ;  
 Do deeds, that ne'er were done by man before ;  
 Perform impossibilities ; yea, work miracles ;  
 And let my brother be emancipated.  
 But, to give up a city bought with Christian blood ;  
 A city, on whose walls, his own right hand  
 Planted a Christian standard—'tis not true—  
 He never did command it ;—and it never  
 Shall be done."

On this resolute decision, the remainder of the drama rests, and the deep enthusiasm, on which it was founded, and which constitutes the interest we feel in Ferdinand's character, is explained in a few words he says to the King of Fez, who, after urging him to submit to the exchange, asks :—

"And why not give up Ceuta ?"

to which Ferdinand solemnly replies :

"Because it is not mine to give  
 A Christian city—it belongs to God !"

In consequence of this determination, he is, at once, reduced to the condition of a common slave, and treated with inhuman rigour ; and it is not one of the least touching incidents of the drama, that he finds the other captives with whom he is sent to labour, and to whom he is not personally known, promising freedom to themselves from his return to Portugal. At this point, comes in the operation of Muley's gratitude. He offers Ferdinand the means of escape ; but the king suspecting some understanding between them, binds Muley to honourable fidelity by making him Ferdinand's keeper. In the mean time, the sufferings of the unfortunate prince are aggravated, till his strength is broken down, and he dies of mortification, misery, and want ; but, with his mind unshaken, and with an heroic constancy, which sustains our interest in his fate to the last moment.

Just after his death, the Portuguese army, destined for his rescue, arrives. In a night scene of much dramatic effect, Ferdinand's form, in the habiliments of the religious order of knighthood, in which he had required to be buried, appears at their head, and, with a torch in his hand, beckons them on to victory. They follow the supernatural leading ; entire success fulfils their purpose ; and the miraculous conclusion of the whole, by which his consecrated remains are rescued from Moorish pollution, seems, at least, in keeping with the romantic pathos, and high-wrought enthusiasm, of the scenes that lead to it.



This, and some other of Calderon's efforts, like *Amor despues de la Muerte* (Love survives Life) and *El Medico de su Honra*, (The Physician of his own Honour), approach the character of Tragedy ; but still they preserve the standing part of the *Gracioso*, and rely more on the intrigue of the plot and love-adventures for the interest they are to excite, than on the moving development of such characters as Tuzani and Ferdinand. In order, therefore, to give a more fair exhibition of Calderon's peculiar style and genius, than we could by taking one of his best dramas, we will now examine his *Magico Prodigioso*, (The wonder-working Magician) which, from its mixture of tragedy and farce ; buffoonery and religion, with whatever is tumultuous and disorderly in the complication of the plot, may be considered extremely characteristic of its author. We select this piece, too, the more gladly, because we can avail ourselves of a translation from some parts of it, made by Mr. Shelley.

The scene is laid in different parts of the city of Antioch, and its neighbourhood, during a persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Decius, A. D. 250 ; and the time occupied by the action is something over a year. The first act, (*jornada*) opens with a pleasing description of natural scenery. Cyprian, the hero, or *primer Galan*, of the piece, is represented as having on a day devoted to Jupiter, retired from the bustle of Antioch, to pursue certain inquiries concerning a Supreme Deity, upon which he had been brought by a passage in Pliny. He begins thus to his two servants, who enter with him.

" In the sweet solitude of this calm place,  
This intricate, wild wilderness of trees  
And flowers and undergrowth of odorous plants,  
Leave me. The books you bro't from out the house,  
To me are ever best society ;  
And, whilst with glorious festival and song,  
Antioch now celebrates the consecration  
Of a proud temple to great Jupiter,  
And bears his image in loud jubilee  
To its new shrine, I would consume what  
Lives of the dying day, in studious thought,  
Far from the throng and turmoil."

One of his servants much wonders at all this. The other, Clarin, who is the *Gracioso*, replies:—

" My master's in the right ;  
There is not any thing more tiresome  
Than a procession-day, with troops of men  
And dances and all that.

*Mascon.*

" From first to last,  
Clarin, you are a temporizing flatterer,  
You praise, not what you feel, but what he does,  
Toad-eater !

*Clarin.*

" You lie—under a mistake,—  
For this is the most civil sort of lie,  
That can be given to a man's face. I now  
Say, what I think, Sir."

Cyprian adjusts this petty quarrel; and, continuing his metaphysical inquiries, seems likely to arrive at conclusions not remote from the truth. Of course, according to the notions of the time, such a result would be particularly unwelcome to the Grand Enemy of the human race. In the next scene, therefore, the Devil himself, in the disguise of a fine gentleman, (*vestido de gala,*) breaks upon the solitude of Cyprian, pretending himself a stranger, who has lost his way. Struck apparently by the books round Cyprian, the Devil announces himself as a Scholar; and, according to a fashion not rare in Calderon's time, at the Universities, offers to hold a dispute with Cyprian on any subject. Cyprian, of course, chooses the one that was then troubling his thoughts, and, after a tedious logical discussion, according to the habit of the Schools, obtains the victory, and is filled with admiration at his antagonist's skill. The Devil, however, though defeated, does not yield. He determines to try the power of temptation. For this purpose, he brings, at once, Lælius, the son of the governor of Antioch, and Florus, both friends of Cyprian, to fight a duel near the place of his meditations, respecting a lady by the name of Justina, secretly a Christian, and the supposed daughter of Lysander, a Christian Priest, come to convert the idolaters of Antioch. Cyprian prevents the duel; the parties refer their quarrel to him; and he, in consequence, visits Justina; but, instead of executing his commission, falls in love with her himself, while, in order to make a running parody on the principal action, common in Spanish plays, the two followers of Cyprian fall in love with Justina's maid. Now, therefore, begins the complication of the intrigue. That same night, Lælius and Florus come separately before the house of Justina, to offer her homage; but the Devil makes them believe that Justina disgracefully favours some other lover; for he descends from her balcony, before them, by a rope-ladder, in the guise of a gallant, and then disappears between them. As they had not seen each other before, each takes the other to be this favoured rival, and a duel ensues on the spot. Cyprian again interferes opportunely, but is astonished to find, that they both renounce Justina as no longer worthy of them. This ends the first act.

At the opening of the second, Cyprian explains his passion to Justina, and she rejects it, after which the whole scene is parodied by the servants of the parties; Livia, her waiting maid, accepting, at the same time, both of Cyprian's followers, and promising to devote herself to each, on alternate days. Cyprian, meanwhile, grows furious under his disappointment; and, in a soliloquy of great passion, declares he would give his soul to obtain Justina. The Devil, who is very potent with spirits in this state, immediately avails himself of it. A violent storm

arises, which Cyprian, standing on a solitary seacoast, thus describes, in one of those lyrical portions, which are often, without particular reason, interposed between the dialogue, in Spanish dramas:—

“What is this? Ye heavens for ever pure,  
At once intensely radiant and obscure!  
Athwart th’ etherial halls  
The lightning’s arrows and the thunder-balls  
The day-affright;  
As from the horizon round  
Burst with earthquake sound,  
In mighty torrents the electric fountains,  
Clouds quench the sun, and thunder-smoke  
Strangles the air, and fire eclipses heaven.  
From yonder clouds, even to the waves below,  
The fragments of a single ruin choke  
Imagination’s flight;  
For, on flakes of surge like feathers light,  
The ashes of the desolation cast  
Upon the gloomy blast  
Tell of the footsteps of the storm.  
And nearer see the melancholy form  
Of a vast ship, the outcast of the sea,  
Drives miserably!  
And it must fly the pity of the port  
Or perish; and its last and sole resort  
Is its own raging enemy.”

From this ship, which is a Phantom-ship, the Devil appears at the feet of Cyprian, as the only person escaped from the wreck. Coming as a man in suffering, he is hospitably received, and gives the following account of himself, which is obviously an ingenious allegory on his state in heaven, and his fall:—

“Since thou desirest, I will then unveil  
Myself to thee;—for in myself I am  
A world of happiness and misery;  
This I have lost, and that I must lament  
For ever. In my attributes I stood  
So high and so heroically great,  
In lineage so supreme, and with a genius,  
Which penetrated with a glance the world  
Beneath my feet, that, won by my high merit,  
A king—whom I may call the King of kings,  
Because all others tremble in their pride  
Before the terrors of his countenance—  
Named me his counsellor. But the high praise  
Stung me with pride and envy; and I rose  
In mighty competition to ascend  
His seat, and place my foot triumphantly  
Upon his subject thrones. Chastised, I know  
The depth to which ambition falls. Too mad  
Was th’ attempt; and yet more mad were now  
Repentance of th’ irrevocable deed.  
Therefore, I chose this ruin with the glory  
Of not to be subdued, before the shame  
Of reconciling me with him who reigns,  
By coward cession. Nor was I alone;

Nor am I now ; nor shall I be alone ;  
 And there was hope, and there may still be hope ;  
 For many suffrages among his vassals  
 Hailed me their lord and king, and many still  
 Are mine, and many more perchance shall be."

The Devil ends this artful and poetical account of himself, by exciting a love for magic in Cyprian, and offering his instruction.

After this, we have again a scene of thoroughly Spanish intrigue. Lælius goes to Justina, to reproach her with the lover he supposed he had seen descending from her balcony, and finds her just coming out of her house. The Devil immediately shows himself within the house, as if anxious to be concealed ; but in such a way, that he is seen only by Lælius, whose suspicions and anger, are, of course, greatly increased by it. Lælius, to discover who it is, forces his way in, against the intreaties of Justina ; and thus, at last, that great offence against Spanish honour is consummated—a lover of the lady is in her apartments, unknown to her family. At this moment, Lysander comes home, and laments to Justina, that a persecution of the Christians is ordered ; thus confessing, in the hearing of Lælius, son of the governor, that both himself and Justina are Christians. This further increases the cruel embarrassment of Justina, which seems to be at its height, when Florus comes to reproach her with the affair of the balcony, and detecting Lælius concealed in the house, can no longer doubt who is the favoured lover. They fight—it being the third duel in the piece—the Governor, Lælius's father, enters, and imprisons them both, excessively indignant at Justina, as the cause of his son's folly and danger. And so this part of the action is closed. Meanwhile, Cyprian's love has grown more and more ungovernable, and the Devil irritates and excites him more and more with the hopes of magic, until, at last, he surrenders his soul to perdition, if, at the end of a year, he can possess Justina.

This year elapses between the second and the last act, which opens with Cyprian, as an accomplished magician, demanding a fulfilment of the compact. The Devil attempts to do it, by tempting Justina to love, in every possible way. This is allegorically expressed in a beautiful lyrical dialogue, where, whatever surrounds her, seems to grow vocal and solicit her to love. It opens thus :—

*A voice within.* "What is the glory far above  
 All else in human life ?

*All.* "Love ! Love !

*Voice within.* "There is no form, in which the fire  
 Of love its traces has impressed not.  
 Man lives far more in love's desire,  
 Than by life's breath too soon possess'd not.  
 Since all that lives must love or die,  
 All shapes on earth, or sea, or sky



With one consent to heaven cry  
That the glory far above  
All else in life is—

All.

"Love! O, Love!"

This allegory is carried on occasionally with great beauty; but, though Justina is partly tempted to love, still, by the entire purity of her thoughts, she prevents the Devil from obtaining the least power over her. She is, however, greatly alarmed, by these preternatural solicitings, which thus seem to come from whatever she beholds, and she therefore determines to resort for strength, to the secret church and worship of her persecuted sect. The Devil, in the mean time, unable to fulfil his compact with Cyprian, endeavours to deceive him, and sends a phantom in the form of Justina, which, when Cyprian approaches it, proves a loathsome corpse. The Devil now confesses he has no power over Justina. Cyprian insists on the reason: and the Devil again confesses it is because she is protected by one greater than himself, who, by further compulsion and adjuration, he is made to acknowledge is the God of the Christians. This, of course, brings all back to the original argument at the opening of the piece. Cyprian's doubts are solved. He devotes himself to the Supreme Deity, whom he has thus discovered, and surrenders himself, as a Christian, to the Governor of Antioch. The Governor, in the mean time, pursuing Justina with vengeance, for his son's follies and crimes, has traced her to the Christian Church, where she, too, is seized, and brought before him. Both are carried out for martyrdom; the buffoon servants make many poor jests on the occasion; and the whole ends, by the appearance in the air, of a great dragon ridden by the Devil, who is again compelled to confess the Supreme Deity, and, amidst thunder and earthquake, to proclaim that Cyprian and Justina are already welcomed into heaven.

This piece, the *Magico Prodigioso*, contains, we think, as many of the peculiar marks and characteristics of Calderon's manner, as any one that could be selected from his works. Among his more popular pieces in Spain, are the *Dama Duende*, (The Fairy Lady,) which may be seen again in Hauteroche's *Esprit follet*; *No hay burlas con el Amor*, (No jesting with Love,) and *La Vanda y la Flor*, (The Scarf and the Flower.) These, with others of the same character, but all dramatised novels, constitute his chief merit at home, where pathetic dramas, which, like the Firm-hearted Prince, depend on a deep tragic interest, have never maintained the rank they do with the grave nations of the North.

On looking over the mass of Calderon's works, and considering him as the immediate successor of Lope, we shall still find, that, during the fifty years he was unquestioned master of the stage,

he did not effect or attempt any considerable revolution on the Spanish theatre. He added to it no new forms of dramatic composition, and he did not much modify those which had been arranged and settled by Lope. But he gave the whole a new colouring; and, in some respects, a new physiognomy. His drama is more poetical in its objects and tendencies, and has less an air of reality and truth, than that of his great predecessor. We have, in its best portions, a sense of treading in a new world, governed by higher motives, and stimulated by new passions; and we must have our own feelings and imaginations not a little raised and excited, before we can take part in what we witness. To this elevated tone, and the constant effort necessary to sustain it, we are to trace what is characteristic both in Calderon's merits and defects. It renders him less easy, graceful, and natural, than Lope. It imparts to his style, a constraint and mannerism which often offend us. It leads him to repeat from himself, till his personages become standing characters; and his ladies and gallants seem brought out, like the masks of the ancient theatre, to represent, with the same attributes and costume, the different stories and actions his different plots require. It leads him to break down all the distinctions of national, as well as individual, character, and to bring on the stage Greeks and Romans, Heathen divinities, and the supernatural fictions of a Christian imagination, all in Spanish fashions, and with Spanish feelings; and to carry them all, much in the same way, through a long succession of singular intrigues and adventures, during which a proud, idealized, romantic elevation of mind is constantly produced, in striking situations, and with brilliant effect. In short, it has led him to consider the whole Spanish Drama a mere form, within whose limits his imagination may be indulged without restraint; and, the consequence is, that while the high tone of Spanish honour, courtesy, and love, is every where preserved, his actions are often combined in such gross disproportions, and his characters are produced with such fantastic and impossible attributes, that a large majority of his dramas must, after all, be considered as failures, and a still greater number be admitted to have any thing for their support, rather than truth and nature.

But where he does succeed, his success is of no common character. He sets before us a world of ideal beauty, splendour, and perfection, into which nothing enters but the highest and purest elements of the Spanish character. The fervid and solemn enthusiasm of Moorish heroism; the chivalrous adventures of Castilian honour; the generous self-devotion of individual loyalty; and that love, which is the most reserved secret of woman's heart in a state of society, where it must be so severely withdrawn from the world—all seem to find in Calderon their peculiar and appropriate home. And, when he has once entered

into this poetical fairy-land, whose glowing impossibilities his own genius has created, and when he has gathered around himself forms of heroism and loveliness, like those of Tuzani, Gutierrez, Clara, and Don Ferdinand, he has reached the point he proposed to himself; he has set before us the magnificent show of an idealized drama, resting on the purest and noblest elements of the Spanish national character, and which, with all its inevitable defects, is, at least, one of the most extraordinary phenomena in modern poetry.

Calderon, like Lope, was surrounded with many imitators and followers, in whose hands the national drama gradually decayed. Among the more prominent of them, was Moreto, of whom, if we had time, we would gladly speak, not only for the sake of his great merit, but because his delightful and humorous play, *El Desden con el Desden*, is in the volume of Mr. Sales. There was also Diamante and Roxas; Solis, the historian, Candamo, the lyrical poet, Zamora, an actor; and, finally, Cañizares, who compounded his works, in a great measure, from the elder dramatists. All these, and multitudes of other writers, flourished between the time when Calderon came upon the stage, and its final fall, about the time when the Bourbons came to the throne, in 1700. They mark, too, its decay.

The theatre, however, as we have already intimated, did not depend in Spain, so much on the full length dramas, as it did in other countries. There were, besides, the *Loas*, or long dramatic prologues, the *Entremeses* between the acts; the *Saynetes*, or farces at the end; the *Xacarar*s, which were a sort of old ballads, sung where they were needed; and lyrical dances, or dances with song, like the *Zarabandas*, which were put in for the same general purpose of increasing the zest of the entertainment. They were all, however, in one tone and spirit, and constitute the dramatic literature of the public, popular theatres in Spain, during the seventeenth century. The genuine and exclusive nationality of this literature, is its most prominent characteristic. It was a more popular amusement; it belonged more to all classes of the nation, than any theatre since the Greek. Its actors were almost always strolling companies, with a person at their head, called *El Autor*, because from the time of Lope de Rueda, the manager often wrote the pieces he caused to be represented; and this Author, as he was called, when he came to a place, where he intended to act, went round in person and posted his bills, announcing the entertainment. When dramatic representations were not so common as they afterwards became, such occasions were eagerly seized, and pieces performed both morning and afternoon. Even later, when they grew common, they were still always given in the day-time, beginning, in the winter, at two o'clock, and in the summer at three, so that every



body might return home unmolested before dark. The place of representation was almost uniformly an open court-yard,\* at one end of which was a covered and sheltered stage; and, on its sides, rows of seats, as in an amphitheatre; but, the best places were the rooms and windows of the houses, that opened into the area; and such was the passion for scenic representation, that the right to particular seats was often preserved and transmitted, as an inheritance, from generation to generation. When the audience was collected, the Author came forward, and, according to the technical phrase, threw out the *Loa*, (*echò la Loa*,) in which he, perhaps, complimented some of the persons present, or, perhaps, boasted how strong his company was, and how many new plays they had ready for representation. Then followed a dance, or a ballad. Afterwards, the first act of the play, with its *Entremes*; then the second, and the second *Entremes*; and finally the last, after which another farce was given, (the *Saynete*,) and the whole concluded with dancing, which was often interspersed in other parts of the entertainment, and accompanied with singing. The costume of the actors was always purely and richly Spanish, though they might represent Greek or Roman characters; the women sat separate from the men, and were veiled; and officers of justice had seats on the stage to preserve order, one of whom was once so deluded by the representation of one of Calderon's most extravagant pieces, that he interfered, sword in hand, to prevent what he believed an outrage, and drove the actors from the boards. The audiences, when Lope began to write, seem to have been very quiet and orderly; but soon after 1600, they began to decide on the merits of the plays, and the acting, with little ceremony; and, before 1615, they took the character, which, in Madrid at least, they maintained to the end of the century, of being the most violent and rude audiences in Europe.

This, then, was the state of dramatic literature in Spain, from the appearance of Lope, to the time of Cañizares; and these were the means used for producing it to the nation, as a general amusement, when, under Philip IV., it was at the height of its success. It was, therefore, in all its forms, essentially a popular drama; and, in any other country, would, under similar circumstances, never have risen above the character it had, in the time of Lope de Rueda, when it was the amusement of the lowest portions of the populace. But, the Spanish is, and always has been, a poetical people. There is something romantic about the national genius, and something picturesque in the national manners, habits, and feelings, which cannot be mistaken. A deep enthusiasm runs at the bottom of the Spanish character; and the

\* The two theatres in Madrid, are still called *Corrales*, court-yards.



workings of strong passion, and a powerful original imagination, are every where visible on its surface. The same power, the same fancy, the same excited popular feeling, which, in the thirteenth century, produced the most rich, various, and poetical ballads of modern times, was still active in the seventeenth; and the same national character, which, under Alonso the wise, and Ferdinand, drove the Moorish crescent through the plains of Andalusia, and found utterance for its exultation, in a popular poetry of unrivalled sweetness and force, was no less active under the Philips, and called forth, controlled, and directed a drama, which grew out of the national genius and manners, and which, in all its forms and varieties, is essentially popular, Spanish, and poetical.

But the poetical drama, which grew out of a state of excitement in the whole nation, could be sustained in its original freshness and power, only by preserving, in the same degree, the enthusiasm of the popular character. This, however, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was no longer possible. The romantic, the chivalrous, the poetical genius, which had been breathed into the whole body of the Spanish people, during their contest of seven centuries with the Moors, and which had been sustained by the vast ambition and magnificent projects of Charles V., had gradually faded away under the cold, close, and cheerless tyranny of his successors. The independence and dignity of the national feeling were broken down by an unrelenting despotism; and its poetical elevation was humbled by disasters abroad, and disgrace at home. The drama, therefore, which, in all its forms, and in every period of its history, had, in Spain, more than in any other country, depended on the general tone of feeling in the people, failed with the failing character of the nation; and when, at last, a French prince was placed on the throne of Saint Ferdinand, and the generous and poetical spirit of Spanish Independence was made to bow before the power of Louis XIV., then this popular drama, which had been to the Spanish character, what a costume is to an age, or a physiognomy to a nation, disappeared in the common overthrow, and, if not forgotten for ever, has never been effectually revived.

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ART. IV.—*Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, et de leur établissement en France au dixième siècle; par C. P. DEPPING. Ouvrage couronné en 1822 par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1826. History of the Maritime Expeditions of the Normans, and of their establishment in France in the tenth century; by C. P. DEPPING. A work which obtained the palm in 1822 from the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Paris: 1826.*

THE science of history has recently been much improved as to the selection, arrangement, and critical examination of the materials used in composition. In respect to the external qualities of style, and all that belongs to historical painting, and perhaps, also, in acuteness and depth of reflection, the historical writers of antiquity, never have been, and probably never will be surpassed. Polybius in political wisdom, Tacitus in knowledge of the human heart, and Livy in splendid colouring, have had few rivals in modern times. But it must be confessed, the modern historians, with some exceptions, excel in patient investigation and the laborious comparison of authorities, and in that philosophical spirit of candour and impartiality by which the historical pen ought always to be guided. In France, particularly, historical studies have been recently revived with fresh ardour, and every thing which can throw light upon the early annals of the nation, has been diligently explored. The excellent work now before us, is, among others, the fruit of a laborious study of the antiquities of that famous race of pirates, who wrested from the successors of Charlemagne, one of the finest provinces of France,—subdued England, Naples, and Sicily, and established in those countries dynasties of their princes, who reigned for ages. The romantic story of the establishment of the Norman adventurers in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, has been told by Gibbon, with his usual felicity;—the conquest of England, by William, has been recently illustrated in the valuable work of Mr. Thierry; and the present work relates to the successive incursions of the Normans into France, and the history of Normandy, from Rollo the first duke, to its reunion with the French monarchy, by Philippe Auguste, in 1204. The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, proposed, in the year 1820, as the subject of a prize essay, “to develop, from historical monuments, and especially from those of the North, the causes of the numerous emigrations of the people known by the name of Normans, and to compose an abridged history of their establishment in France.” The present work is an amplification of a Memoir on the subject thus suggested, which was crowned by the Academy in

1822. It contains a critical account of the original authorities from which it was written. Of the various monuments which might be supposed to illustrate the early history of the Normans, M. Depping makes but little account of the ancient mounds and tumuli—the huge blocks of stone marking the places of worship or of the public assemblies—and the numerous inscriptions in the Scandinavian language and Runic characters, which are to be found scattered all over the North. He attaches still less importance to the vestiges of the pagan and pirate race, which are to be found in Normandy itself. These are reducible to a few remains of forts and fortified camps, which are still to be traced in that province. That species of religious architecture which is distinguishable by the national appellation of Norman, and of which there are so many fine specimens in England, was not formed even in its rude elements, until long after their conversion to Christianity, and according to the opinion of some recent English writers, is but an improvement on the Saxon style, which they found already established in the conquered country. In the Dutchy itself, the style of architecture was mean and barbarous, until the beginning of the eleventh century, when from some unknown cause it suddenly rose to a high pitch of perfection. The Runic inscriptions which are still to be seen in such profusion, not only in the three kingdoms of the North, but in all the islands of the West, conquered and colonized by the Scandinavians, might have been expected to yield something to gratify curiosity respecting the transactions of the heroic age, before books were known, and when the national annals were preserved and transmitted by oral tradition. But these expectations have been constantly disappointed, and it is satisfactorily shown in a Memoir by Appelbad, a learned Swede, crowned by the Academy of Belles Lettres at Stockholm in 1781, that the eleven hundred Runic inscriptions which had then been copied and described, throw no light whatever upon the general history of the Northern nations. Those which have since been decyphered, are found to relate almost exclusively to private individuals and their transactions, unconnected even by dates with public events, and incapable of illustrating any of the dark passages in the history of those remote times. Saxo Grammaticus, indeed, asserts that the ancient Danes engraved upon rocks and stones, verses containing accounts of the exploits of their ancestors. But he does not pretend to give any Runic inscriptions of this sort; and though he speaks of the rock on which king Harald Hildetand had caused the achievements of his heroic father to be inscribed, he admits, that when Valdemar I. endeavoured to copy this lapidary inscription, it was found to be, for the most part, effaced and illegible.

The materials from which the history of the Normans must

be compiled, are then reduced to written documents, with few collateral aids from other sources of information. These consist—1. Of those written in the countries of the North, from which they emigrated. 2. Of those published in the countries conquered by them.

Among the former, are those very remarkable ancient compositions noticed in our sixth Number, art. viii., called the *Eddas and Sagas*. The first, are mythic, or mytho-historical books; the latter, are ancient traditionary histories, or romances in prose and verse, composed by the Sckalds, and collected and reduced to writing, after the introduction of Christianity. Each of the *Sagas* relates the story of some distinguished king or family of the heroic age, in a style of perfect simplicity, and frequently of great beauty, in which metrical passages are interspersed, to aid the memory of those who were to recite them while they remained in tradition only. The *Edda* contains a great body of fragmentary poetry, consisting of one hundred and fifty passages, selected from the ancient songs of eighty different Sckalds, and intended to illustrate the poetical use of figurative language and mythology. These fragments refer to many events purely historical; and even where mythological persons figure in them—where the gods and the men of the heroic age are mingled together—they reflect the image of ancient manners, customs, and religious feelings and prejudices. So also the mythico-historical odes, which are published in the second volume of the Arna-Magnæan edition of the *Edda Sæmundar*, throw great light upon the general history of the North, though they have not a very close connexion with that of the Normans in particular. The Sckalds also composed pieces of verse in the form of ballads or romances, to celebrate the exploits of the illustrious families, under whose patronage and protection they lived, and adapted to interest and touch the feelings of their countrymen, by appealing to the great deeds of their heroic ancestors. When this race of Pagan bards began to disappear, with the progress of civilization and Christianity, and the art of writing on paper was introduced, various collections of these songs were made in Iceland, where the knowledge of the ancient Scandinavian language has been constantly preserved and cultivated. So that though the early ages of the North have no *historians*, properly so called, yet the place of the monkish chroniclers, by whom the history of the middle ages in other parts of Europe has been generally written, is well supplied by *poets*, who, instead of dwelling with tiresome minuteness upon dry and barren events, have presented a living picture of national character and manners. Professor P. E. Müller, of Copenhagen, has suggested, that the very poetical cast of the *Sagas*, is itself an additional guarantee of their authenticity as histories. They are written,



as we have already remarked, in prose and verse. "This blending of prose and verse," says Professor Müller, "appears naturally to have occurred in the infancy of the art. It was only such striking incidents as seemed adapted to touch the heart, or excite the mind, that were versified; the rest was left to oral-recitation or prose. Thus, the more traces we find in a particular *Saga*, of its primitive poetical form, the more ancient we conclude it to be, and consequently the more nearly approximated to the age of whose history it treats." But the most ancient Sagas are confined to the narrow limits of the valley in which their scene is laid, and to the particular hero or family whose exploits they celebrate. "It was not," says Professor Müller, "it was not the political importance of an event which determined the bards to make it the subject of a song; they chose it for effect, and selected that which most interested the feelings of their auditors, and at the same time best admitted of poetical ornament." These remarks are, however, exclusively applicable to the most ancient Sagas. As to the more modern, they resemble chronicles, or, what were called in the south of Europe, *romans* in the middle ages. They are in general family histories; but occasionally branch out, and connect themselves with the transactions of the lands and the seas of the North in the heroic age. For a long time, no distinction was made between these two classes of traditions, and they were both regarded as furnishing equally authentic materials for national history. Even Suhm, to whom the history of Denmark is so much indebted, seems to have relied with nearly the same confidence upon one, as the other kind of Sagas. It is only recently, that the true spirit of criticism has been applied to those curious ancient compositions. They may properly be divided into mythic, romantic, and historical; including, in the first class, those which retrace a faithful picture of ancient manners, feelings, and prejudices; the second, those where the authors give full scope to their imaginations; and the third, those which may be considered as authentic histories. But, one general remark made by Professor Müller, is applicable to all of them, that the ancient poetry of the North, deals more in reality, and less in fictitious invention, than that of the South. He explains this, by the well known fact, that the history of the middle ages in the southern countries of Europe, was written by the clergy; and the lay poets having only the field of fiction left to them, could distinguish themselves as writers in no other way, than by giving a higher colouring to the marvellous stories they found in the monkish chronicles. In the North, on the contrary, the *Sckalds*, who were attached to the courts of kings, and to the most distinguished families of the country, were the depositaries of its historical traditions, which it was their interest, as well as glory, faithfully to preserve.

Among the illustrious families who fled to Iceland, from the tyranny of Harald the Fair-haired, king of Norway, in the ninth century, were the descendants of the Ynlings, who had formerly reigned in Sweden and Norway, and were supposed to have sprung from Odin. They naturally felt a pride in preserving the traditions respecting the exploits of the ancient Scandinavian kings, from whom they derived their descent. Among these, was Are-Trode, (the Wise,) who was the friend and fellow student of Sæmund, the compiler of the poetical Edda, and was born in Iceland, in the year 1067. *Are*, was the first Northern author who assigned fixed dates to events, by reference to any certain chronology. There are only a few fragments of his writings remaining; from which, however, a very favourable opinion may be formed of his talents, as an historian, in comparison with his monkish cotemporaries on the continent. He writes with the manly spirit of a free citizen and a patriot, uninfected by that grovelling superstition which then darkened the face of Europe. Snorro Sturleson, born in Iceland, in 1179, made great use of the works of Are-Trode, and of the ancient *Sagas*, in his history of Norway, entitled *Heimskringla*. Professor Müller, in his essay on the sources from whence Snorro derived his materials, expresses the opinion, that this work is a mere compilation from the ancient *Sagas*, which Snorro arranged, corrected, and sometimes enlarged, from other sources, causing the whole to be carefully transcribed in its present form. Snorro seems to give some countenance to this opinion, by the modest manner in which he speaks in the commencement of the preface to his work. "In this book," says he, "I have recorded, from the traditions of the wise men, the history of ancient events, and of the great deeds of the heroes who have reigned over the countries of the North. I have also inserted their genealogies, so far as they were known to me, and that, partly from the most ancient chronicles, where the kings, and other illustrious persons, have caused to be transcribed their lineages, and partly from the old songs and poems," &c. The *Sagas* collected by Snorro are still much admired by the Icelanders, the language being so little altered that the common peasants can read them. They cherish his memory with lively veneration, and point out the small farm which he cultivated, with the fountain of hot water, at Reikholt, which he used as a bath, and which is still called *Snorrolang*.

M. Depping justly attributes little or no weight to Saxo Grammaticus, as an historical authority, for events long antecedent to his own times. He has gathered something from Adam of Bremen, who lived during the latter part of the eleventh century, and has left a geographical description of Denmark and other Northern countries which he had visited, and also from

the great collection of Danish chronicles, entitled *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*. He also does justice to the merit of Suhm, as a collector of materials for history, and, above all, to the illustrious scholars of Denmark of the present day, who, by their laborious researches, and sound criticism, have recently thrown such a flood of light upon the antiquities of the North.

As to the historians who have written in France upon the Norman invasions—it appears that the dukes of Normandy were sufficiently disposed to patronise any attempt to emblazon the exploits of their heroic ancestors. The earliest chronicler who undertook this task, was Dudon, dean of Saint-Quentin, who lived about a century after the first establishment of the Normans in the kingdom, and who being received and treated with great attention at the court of duke Richard, wrote their history from Rollo, to the year 996. His style is prolix—his prose mixed with bad verses—he is full of credulity and partiality, and describes the Pagan Normans, as mere freebooters, destitute of every redeeming quality in their character. William, a monk of Jumièges, who wrote in the same century, abridged the history of Dudon, and continued it down to the subjugation of England, by William the Conqueror. Two priests were encouraged by the kings of England, of the Norman line, in the twelfth century, to write the history of their dynasty. One of these was Robert Vace, canon of Caen, and one of the most ancient Anglo-Norman poets. His chronicle in rhyme, called the *Roman du Ron*, is a very curious literary monument. The first part relates to the adventures of Rollo, the life of his son William, and a part of the reign of duke Richard. In the second part, he continues the history of Normandy, down to the commencement of the reign of Henry I. In the third portion of his work, which appears to have been intended as an introduction to this national chronicle, the poet describes the adventures of the first Norman chieftains who invaded France. He follows the chronicles of Dudon, and William of Jumièges, but endeavours to give, after his fashion, a poetical colouring to the events which he recounts. Only parts of this poem have been published, but complete MSS. of it exist in the libraries at Paris. That portion of it which relates to the Norman settlements in France, was published at Copenhagen, by Mr. Brænsted, in 1817–18. The other priest, retained by Henry II., to write the history of the Normans, was Benedict de Saint-Maur. His chronicle contains 46,000 verses, and is more difficult to be understood than that of Vace, because his diction is less French, he having resided in that part of Normandy, where the ancient language of the North was the longest preserved. A single MS. only of his work now exists, which is in the British museum.

The received opinion, that all the barbarous nations by whom



the Roman empire was subverted, originally emigrated from the Scandinavian peninsula, is easily refuted by the consideration that these northern countries, with their sterile soil, frozen climate, and broken, mountainous surface, could never have sustained that superabundant population which this notion implies. If, with the present improved state of the arts of life, the three northern kingdoms do not contain 5,000,000 of inhabitants, how exaggerated must be those accounts, which represent the same territory as swarming with people, in the first centuries of the Christian era, when it was almost covered with forests, and the inhabitants lived principally by hunting and fishing. In fact, more recent and accurate investigation has shown, that one of these nations, and that not the least famous, the Goths, emigrated *to*, and not *from* the countries north of the Baltic, their original seat being in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. But the Scandinavian origin of the Normans is incontestable. There has, indeed, been much doubt, whether this national appellation should be confined to the maritime adventurers who issued from Norway, or whether it ought also to be extended to the natives of Denmark. But, if a common origin, language, and religion, constitutes one nation, all the people of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the adjacent islands, in that remote age, must be considered as forming one family or race. Robert Vace has quaintly expressed this, in his homely old verses.

*Man en Engleis et en Norreis  
Hume signifie en Franceis,  
Justy ensemble North et Man  
Ensemble dites Northman.  
Ceo est hume de north en Romanz.  
De ceo vint li nuns as Normanz—  
Normant soelent estre apelée  
Cil ki la dunt North sunt né,  
Et en Romanz est apelée  
Normandie que il unt poplée.*

*Roman du Ron.*

Various causes are enumerated by M. Depping, which gave rise to those predatory expeditions, by which the coasts of Europe were infested, during the decline of the empire founded by Charlemagne. Among these, was that roving and predatory disposition natural to all maritime nations, in the infancy of civilization. The occupation of a pirate, was considered as honourable, in the heroic age of the North. The religion of Odin, stimulated the thirst of blood and the desire of martial renown, by promising the joys of paradise, as the reward of those who fell gloriously in battle. These motives, by which the Scandinavians were induced to quit their native seats, and to roam over the seas, were strengthened by an usage which early acquired the force of law, and under which a portion of the people were pe-



periodically expelled by force from the country, as the increasing population pressed against the means of subsistence. Indeed, the yearly chronicles of Normandy speak of a custom prevailing in the North, by which the eldest son inherited his father's estate, and the younger sons were obliged to seek an establishment beyond the seas. According to Robert Vace, where a man had several sons, it was determined by lot which of them should be his heir, and the rest were obliged to emigrate.

Costume fut jadis lonc tems  
En Dannemarche, entre païens  
Quand homme avoit plusors enfanz,  
Et il les avoit norriz granz,  
L'un des fils retenoit par sort  
Qui ert son her après sa mort;  
Et cil sur qui le sort tornoit,  
En autre terre s'en alait.

*Roman du Ron.*

It is remarkable, however, that none of the *Sagas*, or other ancient histories of the North, make any mention of such a custom or law. Still, it does not follow, that it may not have existed. The laws were preserved by oral tradition only. They were framed by the people, in their public assemblies in the open air; the old men also pronounced judgment in the same public manner, according to the approved customs of which, they possessed the traditions, which they handed down from generation to generation. None of these were reduced to writing, before the thirteenth century. At this period, emigration had ceased, and consequently no mention is made of this manner of providing for younger sons, although the law of primogeniture, as to the descent of real property, was firmly established, at least in Norway. The Scandinavian nations were broken into petty states, like the tribes of Greece in their heroic age, each of which had its chief or king, and all of whom were constantly engaged in deadly wars, the result of hereditary feuds. These chieftains were at first elective, and by degrees became hereditary. Sometimes the succession was divided, the younger sons retaining the title of kings, and becoming sea rovers: at others they agreed, when there were two sons, that they should reign alternately for a limited period, one over the sea, and the other over the land. Thus piracy became the favourite pursuit, and the most graceful accomplishment of princes and nobles, and was surrounded with all the lustre of chivalry. The younger sons of the kings, and the *Jarls*, who had no other inheritance but the ocean, naturally collected around their standards the youth of the inferior orders, who were equally destitute. Thus the flower of the nation was launched upon the waves, and the chiefs who followed this mode of life, are designated in the *Sagas* by the appellation of Sea-Kings, (*Sea-Kongar*.) "And they are rightly named Sea-

Kings," says the author of the *Ynlingar-Saga*, "who never seek shelter under a roof, and never drain their drinking horn at a cottage fire."

It is easy to see, that all these circumstances combined, tended to give the national character a strong impulse to maritime enterprises, and to stimulate it by the desire of distinction and of wealth, which last was not to be gained by any honest and peaceful pursuit. Their religion bore the impress of a wild and audacious spirit, such as, according to tradition, marked the character of its founder. Odin is represented as a skilful navigator, and the patron of martial prowess. Hadding, a Norwegian king, and the pirate Liser, had made a joint expedition against a certain chieftain who reigned on the banks of the Dwina, by whom they were bravely repulsed. But the deity rescued Hadding, and carried him upon his celestial steed, *Sleipner*, back to Norway. Some of these chieftains carried their audacity so far, as to defy the gods themselves. Thus we are told in the Sagas of two famous heroes who never sacrificed to the deities. King Olaf, the Saint, demanded of one of them, who offered to enter his service, of what religion he was? "My brother in arms and I," said Gauthakon to the king, "are neither Christians nor Pagans. We have no faith but in our arms, and on strength to vanquish our enemies, and these we have ever found sufficient." So also in the Saga of Olaf Tryggveson, another of these heroes says: "I have no faith in idols: I have encountered giants and evil spirits; they have never been able to prevail against me. I rely solely upon my strength and my courage."

Their national freedom contributed to swell this proud spirit, which was also fomented by the songs extemporized or recited by the *Skalds*, in praise of martial renown, or the exploits of their ancestors. The chieftains were surrounded by *Champions*, (in Icelandic, *Cappar*; in Danish, *Kæmpe*,) who were devoted to their fortunes, and dependent upon their favour for advancement. These heroes were sometimes taken with a sort of phrenzy—a *furor Martis*, produced by their excited imaginations dwelling upon the images of war and glory,—and perhaps increased by those potations, in which the people of the North, like other savage tribes, indulged to great excess. When this phrenzy was upon them, these *Orlandos* committed the wildest extravagancies, attacked indiscriminately friends and foes, and even waged war against inanimate nature, the rocks and the trees. The language of the North had a particular term, appropriated to distinguish the Champions who were subject to this species of madness. They were called *Berserker*, and the name recurs so frequently in the Sagas, that we must conclude that this disease prevailed generally among the pirates who passed their lives in roving the seas and fighting duels. Even the female sex did not

escape this general contagion of martial fury, and the love of wild and perilous adventure. Women of illustrious birth frequently became pirates, and roved the seas. These Sea-Amazones were called *Skioldmæer*, or "Virgins of the Shield." The *Sagas* are filled with traits of their heroic bearing. In the *Volsunga-Saga*, we have the romantic tale of Alfhilda, daughter of Sigund, a king of the Ostrogoths, who was chaste, brave, and fair. She was always veiled, and lived in a secluded bower, where she was guarded by two Champions of extraordinary strength. Sigund had proclaimed, that whoever aspired to his daughter's hand, must vanquish the two Champions, his own life to be the forfeit, if he failed in the perilous enterprise. Alf, a young Sea-King, who had already signalized himself by his exploits, encountered and slew the two Champions; but Alfhilda herself was not disposed to surrender tamely. She boldly put to sea with her companions, all clothed in male attire, and armed for war. They fell in with a band of pirates, who, having just lost their chieftain, elected the intrepid heroine for his successor. She continued thus to rove the sea, at their head, until the widespread fame of her exploits came to the ear of Alf her suitor, who gave chase to her fleet, and pursued it into the gulf of Finland. The brave Alfhilda gave battle. Alf boarded the ship of the princess, who made a gallant and obstinate resistance, until her helmet being cloven open by one of his Champions, disclosed to their astonished view the fair face and lovely locks of his coy mistress, who, being thus vanquished by her magnanimous lover, no longer refuses him the hand he had sought, whilst his Champion espouses one of her companions.

The neighbourhood of the sea, with the numerous friths and harbours by which the coasts were indented, all studded with islands, and the profusion of materials for ship-building, with which the shores and mountains of these Northern countries abounded, soon turned the attention of their inhabitants to the art of naval construction. But their first efforts in this art, did not surpass those of our North American Indians; and, even the fleets with which they invaded France, were composed of small canoes hollowed out from the trunks of trees, and so light as to be carried on men's shoulders, or dragged over the portage, from one river to another. They penetrated into the interior of the country, by sailing up the rivers, and, when the inhabitants opposed their progress by bridging the streams, the indefatigable invaders carried their batteaux higher up, or transported them across the land to another water course. Thus when the Normans sailed up the Seine, with their flotilla, in 886, and besieged Paris, being repulsed in their attempt upon the capital, they dragged their boats across the land to the Yonne, where they again embarked, to lay waste the interior provinces. In



the subsequent progress of the art of ship-building, the size of their vessels was increased, and their equipments improved. The Sagas mention the various names of those different vessels, as the *Snekkar*, or Serpent,—a long, light ship, with twenty banks of rowers;—the *Druker*, or Dragon, a very large vessel,—with the figure of a dragon or some other fantastic animal carved upon its prow, and highly ornamented with painting and gilding, in which the Sea-Kings embarked, with their Champions and *Berserker*. According to the Saga of Rolf-Krake, king of Zealand, the *dragon* Grimsnorth, which this monarch had captured in a sea fight with a famous pirate, surpassed all other ships, as much as Rolf surpassed all other kings of the North. For the purpose of organizing the maritime forces of the country, the coasts of Scandinavia were divided into convenient districts, called Hundara,—each of which furnished a certain number of vessels, which were manned by a sort of maritime conscription. This compulsory service was called *Sceppvist*, and if the king did not think fit in any particular year to equip a fleet for sea, an equivalent was exacted, similar to the *Ship-Money*, so famous in the constitutional history of England. The fitting out a piratical expedition annually, had become an inveterate usage in the Northern kingdoms, and the principal ground of dissatisfaction on the part of the Swedes against their king, St. Olauf, was his omission to make every year a predatory incursion against Finland, Esthonia, or Courland, according to the custom which had been observed from time immemorial. This custom is also referred to in the Anglo-Saxon laws, and the first constitution of Ethelred directs an expedition to be in readiness every year, immediately after Easter. The Swedish hundred of Westmanland, furnished two batteaux; another district contributed four; and Gothland equipped seven *Serpents*.

The immense number of vessels that are mentioned as composing the Northern fleets, may be accounted for, by their diminutive size. They were like the ships of the Greeks, in the time of the Trojan war. At the famous battle of Bravalla, where all the maritime forces of the North were assembled, there were thousands of vessels and batteaux engaged. This battle was fought about the year 735, on the coast of Scania, in consequence of a defiance between Harald Hyldetand, king of Zealand, and Sigund-Ring, a Swedish prince, who endeavoured to dethrone his relative, Halland, king of Sweden. All the sea-kings and land-kings, chieftains and pirates of the North, rushed to this scene of glory, with their Champions and *Berserker*. Two of the most celebrated *Skioldmæer*, or Virgins of the Shield, of that time, Hetha and Visina, brought a reinforcement to the king of Zealand, the one of a hundred Amazonians like herself, the other a troop of Svends, armed with long swords, and small



bucklers of an azure hue. All the tribes bordering on the Baltic, were represented in this great land and sea fight. The Slaves, the Livonians, and Saxons, with a famous Frisian pirate named Ubbo, joined the party of Harald, who counted seventy-four Champions. Sigund, his adversary, reckoned ninety-six, all of whom are immortalized in the songs of the Skalds, who were themselves present, and actively engaged. The kings and champions disembarked, and fought hand to hand on the shore. After a furious and protracted contest, the Norwegian archers of Thelemark, who served in the ranks of the Swedish prince, decided the fortune of the day. Harald perished, with fifteen other kings; and the poets who have painted this battle, not satisfied with the mortal agency by which the victory was obtained, have represented Odin himself as taking part against the Danes. The heroic Harald, old, infirm, and blind, was seated upon his battle-car. Odin, who had been his protector, had formerly revealed to him the secret in the military art, by which the ranks of an enemy might be penetrated and broken, by an order of battle, in the form of a wedge or echelon. Harald learns from his charioteer, that Sigund is turning against him this very tactic; and immediately perceives that the day is lost, and that his chariot is guided by Odin himself. In vain does he supplicate the god of war to grant him one more victory! The perfidious deity turns upon the venerable monarch, and despatches him with his war club. The body is soon covered with heaps of the slain, but is discovered after the battle, and graced with magnificent funeral obsequies.

The Normans made their first appearance upon the coasts of France, before the extinction of the Merovingian race of French kings. But they were at that time repulsed, and prevented from penetrating into the interior of the kingdom. The genius of Charlemagne effectually bridled the Northern invaders, but, under his degenerate successors, they laid waste the country with fire and sword. The civil war between the sons of Louis le Debonnaire, and the fatal battle of Fontenay, in which the flower of the French chivalry was destroyed, effectually broke the power of the Carlovingian dynasty, and undermined the empire of the Franks. No effectual resistance was thenceforth opposed to the Pagan invaders. —

Là périt de France la flor,  
Et des barons tuit li plusor.  
Ainsi trouvèrent Paiens terre  
Vuide des gent, et bonne à conquerre.

*Roman du Ron.*

They penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, by the great rivers, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. From the mouth of the latter, they equipped an expedition, which coasted along

the shores of the bay of Biscay,—touched at Lisbon, and, sailing south, ascended the Guadalquivir to Seville, where they came in contact with the Arab conquerors of Spain. The contrast between these two races of fanatic barbarians, one issuing from the frozen regions of the North, the other from the burning sands of Africa, is one of the most striking pictures presented by history. But the sectaries of Odin prevailed over those of Mahomet, and they carried off the prisoners and booty, which were the sole objects of their incursion. They subsequently passed the outlet of the Mediterranean, which seemed to them another Baltic strait, and which is called in the Sagas *Niorva-Sund*. If we are to confide implicitly in the monkish chroniclers, their savage fury was mainly directed against the monasteries and the clergy. They burnt the one, and slaughtered the other. But the poetical chronicles describe with touching simplicity the sufferings of the people in a desolated country, where the land no longer yielded rent to the lord, the fields and vineyards were laid waste, the peasantry scattered abroad, the highways deserted by pilgrim and merchant. At last, Charles-le-Chauve was reduced to the humiliating necessity of purchasing a truce, by paying the invaders a tribute wrung from his miserable subjects; and the old poet Benedict de St. Maur, though he wrote under the patronage of the English kings of the Norman line, closes the first book of his chronicle, with indignant lamentations upon the degradation of the once proud and invincible Franks, prostrate before

La très plus horrible gent  
Qui fust de souz le firmament.

These expeditions were not without their political effects upon the Northern countries, from whence they were equipped. They weakened the power of the petty kings and chieftains, and enabled Gorm the Old to consolidate all the states of Denmark into one monarchy, whilst Harald the Fair-haired vanquished the kings of Norway, and drove the discontented Jarls into exile. Iceland was peopled with Norwegian emigrants, who established there a sort of federal republic; the grand council of which assembled, annually, on the elevated plain of the volcanic mountain of Thingvalla, which was thence called *Lagberg*, or Rock of the Law. Harald sought to extirpate piracy in the Northern Seas, and to reclaim his people from habits, which, however unfavourable to the progress of civilization, nourished the spirit of liberty and independence. Rollo, or as he is called in the language of the North, Hrolf, or, Hrolfur, surnamed Gaunger-Krolf, or Rolf the Walker, was the son of one of the most illustrious Jarls of Norway, who traced his genealogy from the ancient kings of Sweden. Like many other of the Scandi-

navian youth of high birth, he had abandoned his family and home in early life, and roamed over the seas in search of plunder and adventures. Among other practices connected with piracy, Harald had prohibited, under the severest penalties, the *Strandhug*, or impressment of provisions, which the sea-rovers were in the habit of exercising, by seizing the cattle of the peasantry. Being taken in the fact, Rollo was, by a solemn sentence, banished for ever from his native country. The story is told as follows, in the Saga of Harald Harfager:—

“Rognevald, Jarl of Mære, was the most intimate friend of king Harald, who held him in great esteem. He had married Hilddur, daughter of Rolf-Nefio; their sons were Hrolf and Thorer. Rognevald had also other sons by his concubines; one was called Hallathur, another Einar, and the third Hoolanger. They had already grown up, whilst his legitimate children were yet in their infancy. Rolf was was a powerful *Viking*, (pirate,) and was so stout that no horse could carry him. He was therefore obliged to go on foot, and thence was called Gaunger-Rolfur, (Rollo the Walker.) He cruised much in the Baltic sea.

“One summer, returning from a cruise, he landed at Vigen, and there exercised the right of *Strandhug*. King Harald, who was there, was greatly enraged, when he was informed of what had taken place, for he had strictly prohibited this practice in his territories. He caused a *Thing*, (council,) to be assembled, to banish Rolf from Norway. Hilddur, the mother of Rolf, as soon as she heard this, went to the king to intercede for Rolf, but Harald was inexorable. Hilddur then exclaimed to the king:—

“You reject the name of Nefio from the country as an enemy. Ah! listen to the brother of Haulda! Why do this? It is dangerous to attack the wolf; hardly will he spare the flock of Hilmir scattered abroad in the forest.”\*

“Rolf the Walker passed the western seas, and came to the *Sudar-eiar*, (the Hebrides,) and thence to *Walland*, (France,) where he carried on war, and acquired a great lordship, which he planted with Normans, and which was afterwards called Normandy. From his stock came the Jarls of Normandy; his son, was William, the father of Richard, who begot another Richard, father of Rollo long-sword, from whom came William the Bastard, king of England. From this last, have descended all the other English kings.”

In the course of his former fugitive and wandering life, Rollo had served both for and against Alfred in England; and that politic prince, probably as much for the sake of ridding himself of so troublesome an ally, as for the purpose of annoying the Car-

\* This is supposed to be a verse of some Skald, recited by Hilddur as apt to her purpose.

lovingians, had assisted Rollo in his first incursion into France, which took place before his final banishment from Norway. A remarkable dream, which a Christian had interpreted as a celestial vision, announcing to him the great things that awaited him in France, determined him to seek his fortune in that direction. In this dream, Rollo found himself afflicted with leprosy, on a high mountain, from which flowed a fountain of pure and limpid water. He plunged into the stream, and was purified. He perceived also, upon the mountain, a flock of birds, who bathed in the same fountain, and flew away to make their nests. The Christian informed him that the leprosy typified Sin,—the mountain the Church,—and the fountain of water, that Baptism by which he must be regenerated, after which he should establish himself in France, with his companions in arms, who were figured by the birds. But this prophetic vision was not realized until twenty years afterwards. His first expedition to the French coast was fruitful only of plunder, with which he returned to England, and thence to Norway. After his final relegation from his native country, by Harald, he collected a band of *Vikings* and military adventurers, with which that age abounded, and took possession of Rouen, with the avowed determination to plant himself permanently with his followers in Neustria. From this position, he made continual incursions into the interior. Charles the Simple being unable to make any effectual resistance against these attacks, was at last obliged to yield to the importunities of his people, and cede to the Normans the territory they had conquered, in order to preserve the rest of his dominions from continual devastation.—

Li évesques de France, et li bon ordené,  
 Li baron et li conte, li viel et li puisné,  
 Virent li gentil regne à grant honte atorné.—  
 Au roiz Challon-le-Simple en ont merci crié :  
 Qu'il prenge conroi de la Christienté,  
 Voient les monstiers ars, et le peuple tué,  
*Par deffaute de roiz et par sa fiebleté,*  
 Des Normanz et de Ron qui le regne ont gasté,  
 Voient lor felonnie, voient lor cruauté !  
 De Bleiz à Saint-Liz n'a un arpent de blé ;  
 Marchant n'osent en vigne laborer, ne en pré ;  
 Se cette chose dure, moult aurent grant chierté ;  
 Ja tant comme guerre soit, n'en aurent gran plenté ;  
 Fasse pais as Normanz ; trop a cest mal duré.

*Roman du Ron.*

The prose chronicles confirm the fact of these representations, made to Charles by his prelates and barons, to which the king replied:—"You should have aided me with your council and your arms to expel the Normans ; what could I do alone against so many enemies?"



Que peut faire un soul homme, et que peut exploitier,  
 Si li homme li faillent qui li doivent aidier ?  
 Bonne gent fait roi fort, et cil fait estre fier.

*Roman du Ron.*

The feudal anarchy, and the usurpations of the clergy and great vassals of the crown, had so weakened the power and diminished the revenues of the Carlovingian kings, that they were hardly able to defend themselves against their domestic enemies, much less to repel a foreign invader. Charles, accordingly, ceded Neustria to Rollo, in 911, with his natural daughter Gisele in marriage, upon condition that he should become a Christian and do homage for his dutchy. His example was followed by his principal companions in arms, who abjured the errors of Paganism, were baptised, and they with their chiefs were soon distinguished for their profuse liberality and blind obedience to that clergy they had plundered and massacred. Rollo established in his dutchy a feudal aristocracy, or rather, it grew out of the peculiar circumstances under which the province was acquired and settled, as naturally as a republican form of government arose in Iceland, under different circumstances. M. Houard, a modern Norman lawyer, distinguished for his extensive knowledge of the legal antiquities of his country, concludes that the first dukes of Normandy adopted the ancient customary law of the Franks, which they found already established in the country. In fact, the *Grand Coutumier*, which is the earliest monument of Norman legislation now extant, expressly states, that duke Rollo, having become sovereign of Neustria, *recorded*, i. e. collected the ancient customs of the country, and where any difficulty or doubt occurred in ascertaining these, he consulted "avec moultz saiges hommes par qui la vérité estoit sue, sur ce qui toujours avoit été dict et faict."—But, as M. Depping observes, the custom of Normandy has many analogies with the ancient Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon laws, and these different people have borrowed so much from each other, and were so often blended and confounded together in their various wars and emigrations, that it is difficult to distinguish with accuracy, the origin of their different institutions. The perfect security afforded by the admirable system of police, established by Alfred, in England, is also attributed to the legislation of Rollo, duke of Normandy,—Frode, king of Denmark,—and Brian, one of the petty kings of Ireland :—the chronicles of every one of these countries, repeating with some variations, the story of the bracelets, or purse of gold, suspended by the road side. The natural conclusion seems to be, that the incident never in fact happened in either country, but is merely a poetical mode of expressing the public security enjoyed under the firm and impartial administration of justice by these princes. This was maintained in Normandy by the institu-

tion of the *Clameur de Haro*, under which the inhabitants of every hundred were made responsible for robberies and other crimes committed within its limits, as in the Anglo-Saxon legislation.

The subsequent incursions of the Northern adventurers into France, under Harald Blaatand the son of Gorm the Old, and under Olauf Tryggveson, are detailed at large, by M. Depping.—The Normans soon became undistinguishably blended with the Franks and other conquered nations. They adopted the laws, religion, and manners, of the people they had vanquished, and almost every vestige of their Scandinavian origin, was obliterated in the time of William the Conqueror. The pagan religion and language lingered in the rural districts, and a certain Norman count of the province of Cotentin, who came to the court of Sicily during the eleventh century, was obliged to apologise for not being able to speak French. But at Rouen, which was the ducal capital, the French language was firmly established, and William carried it with him into England, as the language of the court and the law. The remarkable tapestry which adorns the walls of the cathedral of Bayeux, worked by a princess Mathilda, (either the wife of William, or the empress of that name, daughter of Henry I.), the subject of which, is the conquest of England, is the most ancient monument, descriptive of the Norman costume and armour. They are the same with the Danish arms and costumes represented in the miniatures of an illuminated missal of the reign of Canute the Great, preserved in the British museum. They are also similar to those which were worn and used by all the nations of Europe, during the middle ages. The Normans caught the spirit of chivalry from the nations of the South, rather than imparted it to the latter, although there was certainly a tendency in the manners and institutions of the North, towards chivalry and the feudal system. The song which Taillefer, the *trouvère* or bard of William the Conqueror, chaunted at the battle of Hastings, was that of Roland, and not a national ode of the *Skalds*. But, as with their laws, so with their literature, all the Scandinavian, Gothic, and German tribes, mutually borrowed and received so much from each other, and their manners and social condition bore so strong a resemblance, in many points approaching to identity, that it is difficult to appropriate distinctly to each nation the original fruits of its own inventive genius.

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ART. V.—*The History of Rome*, by B. G. NIEBUHR. Translated by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A. and CONNOP THIRLWALL, M. A., *Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge*. The first volume. pp. 556. Cambridge: 1828.

OF all the nations that at successive periods held the empire of the civilized earth, we are under the most direct obligations to the Roman people. If their conquests were conducted upon the erroneous belief, that wealth is the product of victory, and that to lay waste the surface of the earth, will create riches, we must still admit the wisdom of the principles by which they converted the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, first into useful servants, then into brave and faithful allies, and finally, into fellow-citizens. Thus, although their successes were often attended with circumstances of great cruelty, and accompanied by much individual suffering, they finally ameliorated the general condition of the subject nations. By the prevalence of Roman arms, one uniform system of laws and civil policy was spread throughout the whole of Southern Europe. One language prevailed, at least as that of fashion and judicial process, through all their dominions. These laws still rule the greater part of Europe; this language still forms the key to the spoken tongues of the south of that continent. But few years have elapsed since Latin ceased to be the general medium of communication between all who pretended to learning; it still furnishes its majestic tones to the rites of the Catholic Church; and so thoroughly is the print of Roman government impressed upon civilized Europe, that we offend not against probability in assuming, as a key to the darkest of prophecies, the fact, that the Roman empire is still in being, although subdivided among many heads.

Of the language, the arts, and the literature of the Romans, we therefore know more than we do of those of any other ancient nation. If the latter be far less extensive than that of the Greeks, and in most of its authors rather imitative than original, it still possesses high claims to our attention. It has for ages formed the grand and principal means of exercising the minds of youth, and preparing them not merely for literary pursuits, but for all the purposes of an active life. It is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion in respect to the propriety of devoting so great a part of the years of education, to the study of the Latin language. It is sufficient to say, that we are ourselves convinced of the wisdom of that system, which makes a thorough knowledge of this tongue a part of liberal education. Nay more, we would make the rudiments at least, of Latin, a part of all education, as is practised in the common schools of



Scotland and Switzerland, and would deprecate that short-sighted policy which draws a line between the schools supported by public appropriations, and those deriving their income from private patronage, by the exclusion of Latin from the former.

Of the later conquests of the Romans, of their civil wars, their factions, their systems of laws and of religion, satisfactory accounts have reached us; but it is otherwise, when we inquire into the origin, of that discipline: before which, barbarian myriads, and Greek phalanges, alike gave way; of that form of government, so nicely balanced in all its parts; of those wise laws, that still rule, not from their authority, but in virtue of the sound reason on which they are based; of that religion, which retained stronger traces of the primeval tradition, than any other of antiquity, and which, although it ended in the adoption of the deities of all the nations subdued by the Roman legions, seems, in its earliest form, to have deviated but little from the belief of a single and all-powerful God. Such, at least, is the impression we have derived, from an attentive view of the first shape of the religion of the Romans, before it borrowed the elegant fables of Greek poetry, or was debased by the adoption of Phrygian or Egyptian idolatry. The origin of Rome, of its people, its laws, its government, and its religion, are hidden from us in the mazes of a fable. Who is there, that can believe in the divine descent of the Alban kings?—the wolf-fed nurslings, sons of a god and a vestal?—the unrevenged rape of the virgins of a powerful people, by a handful of robbers? not to mention the many palpable absurdities that the less important events carry upon their very face. The origin of nations, is, in truth, rarely to be discovered from their own annals or records. Records are not kept, until a necessity for them has become manifest from experience; annals are not written, until tradition has become so far uncertain, that it cannot be relied upon; oblivion of the best materials, whence annals might be compiled, is the usual precursor of their composition; and the annalist will be compelled to trust to vague recollections, to scanty traditions, or to search inscribed monuments, or written documents, intended as memorials of particular events, or of distinguished persons, but unfit to form a regular series of historic narrative. Rome is not the only important city, the history of whose foundation is fabulous.

It is a weakness to which all mankind are subject, to pride themselves upon an honourable and lofty origin. Even in our republican and democratic country, we find a pride of birth, hanging about the families who can trace an undoubted descent from names celebrated in the annals, or ennobled in the peerages of Europe. And where individual honours no longer attach, states and communities feel the same influence—exult in the endurance and patient fortitude of the pilgrims, or boast the gal-



lantry of the younger sons of good houses who founded Virginia; we even recollect the humbler manifestation of the same feeling, in a few families of a race shut out by their physical characteristics, from the higher privileges of freemen, but which could boast that their ancestors had never borne the badge of slavery, but were recruited as soldiers for the wars of Brazil, by princes of the house of Nassau.

In nations where honourable descent confers immunities and privileges, these feelings, founded, no doubt, in instinctive veneration for paternal authority, are rendered more intense by custom and law, but in none are they absolutely wanting. In the absence of positive knowledge, they would lead to invention. Among the more ancient nations, the same principle caused the deification of their founders; and newer colonies, so soon as they began to inquire into their own origin, would scorn to be outdone in the honours of a divine original, and would engraft upon the vague traditions of their real descent, the fables and legends of an older mythology.

This combination of truth with fiction was rendered more easy, from the want of those means by which history is rendered precise. Written language, although a very ancient invention, existed many ages before it was adopted for general use. Even where it was understood and practised, it did not supersede the use of traditions, arranged in that metrical form, by which the ear could be an aid to the memory. Striking figures and images, the interposition of supernatural agency, and the exaltation of the principal personages beyond the scale of ordinary life, would add to the interest of poetic narrative, and increase the reputation and popularity of the narrator. Hence, in all nations, the earlier histories, whether actually written, or only conveyed by oral communication, are couched in poetic diction. But, in the more early nations, they were never committed to writing. The characters which convey to the sight the impression of sounds, were originally of a form unfit to be rapidly and conveniently traced. Images of physical objects, they required the aid of the arts of design to render them intelligible, and the labour of tracing them would have been considered as wasted upon perishable materials. Various and diverse in their forms for every single sound, they became susceptible of an elegance of expression that would entitle them to a close and laborious study, in order to combine them in the mode best adapted to illustrate the subjects they were applied to commemorate. In their first seat of Egypt, then, we find them applied in the form of sculptures of the greatest elegance, upon materials the most lasting; but the information they convey, bears no proportion in its value to the labour of thought required in their poetic arrangement, or the waste of the means of art lavished upon their delineation.

The discovery of substances upon which the simple labour of conception was capable of conveying the same ideas, as surely as when all the skill of the painter and sculptor was brought into action, on harder and more costly materials, led to the multiplication of written documents. The step to the substitution of a few spirited traces for correct and finished outlines, would be the next in order, and the convenience that was found in conveying by such written documents intelligence of various kinds to distant places, would naturally lead to the substitution of conventional characters bearing a fancied but distant resemblance to the original physical object, and to the restriction of these characters to the smallest possible number. Such no doubt was the source of alphabetic writing. The discoveries of Champollion have traced it to its primitive form in the Hieroglyphics of Egypt; and the link is supplied by the Hebrew alphabet, by which to connect it with the writing of modern Europe. In that alphabet, we still find the letters distinguished by the names of physical objects, whose first articulation is that which is expressed by the letter. The system is identical in principle with that of Egypt, but is applied to a different language. From a dialect cognate to that of the Hebrews, the Phenician, the Greeks derived their letters both in form and in name, but the latter ceased to be significant in the mouths of a nation of wholly distinct origin, and hence in the transfer of the Greek alphabet to the other nations of Europe, while the form remained with no farther modifications than will permit the descent to be distinctly traced, the name ceased to be employed, and settled into the simplest combination of vowels and consonants that will enable the power of the letter to be distinctly articulated. Such at least are the present names of nearly all the letters used by the nations of modern Europe.

Even after writing became thus decidedly alphabetic, the forms of the letters remained such as to prevent them from being used in the rapid manner that they are at present. Nothing would appear more inconvenient to men of business at the present day, than the stiff and formal writing of the Greeks and Romans. Nor was it possible to introduce a more rapid method, until after the invention of printing, when no inconvenience could arise from the use of a rapid and flowing character in manuscript, along with another more precise and distinctly defined for the publication of books. We therefore find that the business character of modern times dates no farther back than the introduction of printing.

Commerce, among the ancients, did not however need the multiplied written records that its vast extension and increased complication demand at the present day. The system of credit was almost unknown, and commercial transactions were limited to

simple and direct barter. If however the good faith of the purchaser was ever relied upon, the rude method of tallies served all the purposes of a memorandum. A plausible writer has lately attempted to account for the diffusion of alphabetic writing, and even to ascribe its invention to the merchants of Phenicia. We cannot however admit that this would have been a natural mode of conveying this valuable discovery. Phenician colonies would indeed carry this art along with them, as well as such others as would be necessary to their existence, and might have communicated them to the surrounding barbarians; but, as in modern times, this, because least obvious in its value, would probably be the last they would have been called upon to impart. Our own country perhaps furnishes the best practical method of judging of the chance of letters being introduced by mere traders among their customers. Two centuries have elapsed since our traders, keeping written accounts, have been in the practice of daily traffic with the Indians, and yet that people has never yet become sensible of the want of such a method of recording the terms of their contracts. So far then from being inclined to acquiesce in the opinion that the necessities of commerce either led to the invention, or caused the diffusion of alphabetic writing, we are fully satisfied that commerce was one of the very last of the arts to which it was applied.

Even when formal histories superseded the poetic rhapsodies that were the earliest form in which traditions were conveyed, the expense of manuscripts, and the scarcity of persons capable of reading them, compelled the authors to publish them, not by the multiplication of copies, but by reciting or reading them to an assembled multitude. In this way the Father of profane history communicated his work to the states of Greece collected for the celebration of the Olympic games.

Before the history of Herodotus becomes authentic, all the annals of the ancient heathen world are involved in darkness and fable, and that part to which credit can be given, reaches to a comparatively short distance from the date at which he wrote. If such be the state of the history of nations, the earliest in civilization, we have far less to expect from the annals of one so late in its admission to the rank of a polished people, as the Roman.

But even had the Romans possessed records of their earlier times, we find that one æra of their history was attended by a catastrophe, in which by far the greater part must have perished. We refer to the destruction of the city by the Gauls, in the three hundred and sixty-fourth year after the usually received date of its foundation, and three hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra. By this disaster, the whole accumulated riches of centuries of prosperity perished. Temples, buildings both private and public, monuments of every description, the records of the



nation, and of individuals, the books of the pontiffs, all shared in the general disaster. Of this we have the most abundant evidence, in the confession of the very authors whom we are now accustomed to quote, as the authentic historians of the antecedent times.

The passage in the sixth chapter of the sixth book of Livy, is express in stating that nearly all perished. Such is the unquestioned meaning of the word *pleræque*, although we have seen an attempt to limit its meaning to "many," or "a large number." The capitol, the only part of Rome that escaped the general devastation, had not been previously the only or even principal receptacle of the public documents, as is evident from the necessity of seeking, after the departure of the Gauls, for treaties and laws.

"Imprimis fœdera ac leges (erant autem eæ duodecim tabulæ, et quædam regiæ leges) conquiri quæ compararent jusserunt: alia ex iis edita etiam in vulgus: quæ autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, suppressa." *Tit. Liv. Lib. 6. cap. i.*

That documents existed in later times, purporting to be the records of the kings and consuls, prior to the Gallic invasion, is evident from various passages in the ancient writers. But their authenticity is liable to much question, nay, we have direct testimony that they were considered as forgeries.

"A certain writer, however, named Clodius, in his emendations of chronology,\* affirms that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls; and that those now shown as such,† were forged in favour of those who were anxious to stretch their lineage far back, and deduce it from the most illustrious houses." *Plutarch's Numa, in Langhorne's translation.*

A stronger proof, that these documents are not genuine, appears in the fact, that, when they are referred to, no notice is taken of the difficulty of understanding them, growing out of the obsolescence of the language, a difficulty which is most strongly expressed by the author, who gives us the only authentic transcript of the most important of the genuine documents. This record is, indeed, as we shall have occasion to mention, in direct contradiction to the histories of Livy and Dionysius, which could not have been the case had they been drawn from other sources of equal age and authenticity.

In the ancient authors, we find direct evidence of the existence of no more than a very few monuments saved from this general wreck. We shall therefore not fear to weary our readers by giving a list of them, particularly as it may be done very succinctly in the words of Horace.

\* εὐγχα χροσιν in the original.

† οὐκ ἀληθεις συγκαταβαι in the original.



"Sic Fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,  
Quas bisquinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum  
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,  
Pontificum Libros, annosa volumina vatum ;"

*Lib. 2. Epist. I. v. 23.*

This list, tallies exactly with that in the passage we have quoted from Livy, differing merely in its particularizing two treaties, instead of expressing them in general terms. Besides these treaties mentioned by Horace, one with Gabii, the other with the Sabines, Livy mentions one with the inhabitants of Ardea, Pliny quotes an article of one with Porsenna, and Polybius gives us an entire translation of one of great importance, made immediately after the expulsion of the kings with the government of Carthage. The last two, give us a view of the history of the times, entirely different from any we would derive from the historians. The condition of the article in the treaty with Porsenna, is, that the Romans shall employ iron for no other purpose but that of agriculture ; a condition which we cannot suppose to have been imposed upon any but a conquered people, who had placed their arms and their persons at the disposal of the victor. No other historian but Tacitus, uses even an expression which can denote such a terrible humiliation, and yet no doubt can be entertained by those who sift the truth from the mass of falsehood in which it is involved, that the Romans were not only subdued and rendered tributary, but that one third part of their tribes passed back to the state whence their territory had originally been severed by the force of arms. Rome owed the restoration of its independence, neither to the magnanimity of its conqueror, nor the prowess of its own citizens, but to the defeat of the army of Porsenna, when in pursuit of new conquests.

The treaty with Carthage, is a most remarkable document. It is dated in the consulship of Horatius and Brutus, who, according to the historians, were never colleagues ; it shows us the Romans in the character of a commercial and maritime people, a light in which no historian has placed them ; it gives the Carthaginians possession of a part of Sicily, eighty years before the date assigned by Livy for their first entrance into that island ; and it defines, with great distinctness, the existing limits of the Roman sway, including cities that were for many years independent and hostile, according to both Livy and Dionysius.

The argument in respect to the annals, is thus stated by Niebuhr :—

"I am now come to the question so often raised, as to the genuineness and credibility of the original annals ; a question, the discussion of which has now been placed on a firm ground, such as our predecessors wanted, by the fortunate discoveries which have enriched philology in our days.

"According to a well known custom, manifestly derived from very ancient times, the chief pontiff wrote on a whited table, the events of the year, prodigies, eclipses, a pestilence, a scarcity, campaigns, triumphs, the deaths of il-

lustrious men ; in a word, what Livy brings together at the end of the tenth book, and in such as remain of the following ones, mostly when closing the history of a year, in the plainest terms, and with the utmost brevity ; so dry that nothing could be more jejune : this table was then set up in the pontiff's house :\* the annals of the several years were afterwards collected in books.† This custom obtained until the pontificate of P. Mucinus, and the times of the Gracchi ; when it ceased, because a literature had now been formed, and, perhaps, because the composing such chronicles, seemed too much below the dignity of the chief pontiff.

"Now, I grant, that Antonius, in Cicero, says, that this custom had subsisted from the beginning of the Roman state ; but it does not follow from this, that Cicero meant that the annals in the possession of the Roman historians, who did not begin to write until so late, reached thus far back. Those of the earlier times may have perished ; which Livy, and other ancient writers, without specific mention of the *Annales Maximi*, state as having happened at the destruction of the city by the Gauls : and certainly this fate may have easily befallen them at that time ; as the tables perhaps were not yet transferred into books, and it is still less likely that transcripts of such books should be in existence ; besides, they may not have been preserved in the Capitol, where the chief pontiff did not reside, and where he had no occasion to keep his archives, like the duumvirs of the Sibylline books.

"I think we may now consider it as certain, that those annals really met with such a fate at that time, and that they were replaced by new ones. Cicero says, that the earliest eclipse of the sun mentioned in the *Annales Maximi*, as having been observed, fell on the nones of June, about the year 350 U. C. : the earlier eclipses were calculated backward from it, unto that during which Romulus was carried up to heaven.‡ A fragment of Cato informs us, that eclipses of the Sun and Moon belonged essentially to the contents of the pontifical annals ; and the fact of their having been computed backwards, agrees with this statement, and shows an attempt to replace the loss of the actual observations : the same has been done in the Chinese chronicles, for the times of which the annals are said to have existed but to have been destroyed."

Enough has, we think, been said, to show that the histories of Rome, usually received as genuine, are at least liable to suspicion, and that Niebuhr is justified in his attempt to derive a more accurate knowledge, in relation to the more early periods, from the collation of other authorities, and the application of the rules of criticism, to the works of these historians themselves.

We cannot but think he has been very successful in showing that the foundation of the earlier portions of the history, is not to be sought in documents, but in traditionary poems, which have been deprived of their beauty of imagery, and force of expression, without being for that reason, rendered more consistent with the truth. That much may have had a foundation in real events, or have been adopted to explain mythically, existing circumstances, cannot be doubted ; but while the slight and insufficient web is true, it is concealed and embellished by a tissue of brilliant poetical fiction.

On this head, our author thus argues :—

"These lays are much older than Ennius, who moulded them into hexameters, and found matter in them for three books of his poem ; Ennius, who seri-

\* Cicero de leg. 1, 2.

† Cicero de Orat. 11, 12.

‡ Cicero de Rep. 1. 16.

ously believed himself to be the first poet of Rome, because he shut his eyes against the old native poetry, and tried successfully to suppress it. Of that poetry and of its destruction, I shall speak elsewhere : here, only one further remark is needful. Ancient as the original materials of the written lays were, the form in which they were handed down, and a great part of their contents, seem to have been comparatively recent. If the pontifical annals adulterated history in favour of the patricians, the whole of this poetry is pervaded by a plebeian spirit, by hatred towards the oppressors, and by visible traces, that at the time it was sung, there were already great and powerful plebeian houses. The assignments of land by Numa, Tullus, Ancus, and Servius, are in this spirit; all the favourite kings befriend freedom; the patricians appear in a horrible and detestable light, as accomplices in the murder of Servius; next to the holy Numa, Servius is the most excellent king; Caia Cecilia, the Roman wife of the elder Tarquin, is a plebeian, a kinswoman of the Metelli; the founder of the republic and Mucius Scævola are plebeians; among the other party, the only noble characters are the Valerii and Horatii, houses friendly to the commons. Hence I should be inclined not to date these poems, in the form in which we know their contents, before the restoration of the city after the Gallic disaster, at the earliest. This is also indicated by the consulting of the Pythian oracle. The story of the instructions sent by the last king to his son, to get rid of the principal men of Gabii, is a Greek tale in Herodotus; so likewise we find the stratagem of Zopyrus repeated; we must therefore suppose some knowledge of Greek legends, though not necessarily of Herodotus himself."

"Between the completely poetical age, which stands in a relation to history altogether irrational, and the purely historical age, there intervenes in all nations a mixed age, which may be called the mythico-historical. It has no precise limits: but it reaches to the point where cotemporary history begins; and its character is the more strongly marked, the richer the nation has been in heroic lays; and the less later writers, neglecting those songs, and without calling up in their minds any distinct image of the past, have filled up the void in its history from monuments and authentic documents. Hence, in the history of the middle ages, we find such a character in the North and in Spain; whereas during the same period, the history of countries, which, like Italy, possess no historical lays, scarcely contain a trace of it. Among the Greeks, the Persian war still displays the character of a free epical narrative; in earlier times, almost every thing that is stirring and attractive in their story is poetry. In Roman history, the range of pure fiction does not reach much lower; although from time to time, it appears again, even down to the fifth century: the disease which preys on this history, until the war of Pyrrhus, is studied alteration. This is sheer corruption: the poetical story is something other, but it is also something better than pure history, on the field of which we only find again what wearies and troubles us in life. The relation of such poetical history to mythology, is that the former must have a historical foundation; that it borrows its materials mainly from history as transmitted in free narrative; while the latter takes them from religion and poems on a larger scale, and does not give itself out to be a possible history of the common order of things in the world; although, so long as it confines itself to the earth, it can have no other theatre. To the latter kind, for instance, belong Hercules, Romulus, and Siegfried, to the former, Aristomenes, Brutus, and the Cid."

Our author thus speaks of the sources whence he supposes the histories of Livy and Dionysius were derived.

"The poems, out of which what we call the history of the Roman kings was resolved into a prose narrative, were different from the *nenia* in form, and of great extent; consisting partly of lays united into a uniform whole, partly of such as are detached, and without any necessary connexion. The history of Romulus is an epopee by itself: on Numa there can have been only short lays. Tullus, the story of the Horatii, and of the destruction of Alba, form an epic whole, like the poem on Romulus: indeed, here Livy has preserved a fragment of the poem entire, in the old Roman verse. On the other hand, what is related of



Ancus, has not a touch of poetic colouring. But afterwards, with Tarquinius Priscus, begins a great poem, which ends with the battle of Regillus; and this lay of the Tarquins, even in its prose shape, is still inexpressibly poetical. The arrival of Tarquinius, the Lucumo, at Rome; his deeds and victories; his death; then the marvellous story of Servius; Tullia's impious nuptials; the murder of the just king; the whole story of the last Tarquin; the warning presages of his fall; Lucretia; the feint of Brutus; his death; the war of Porsenna; in fine, the truly Homeric battle of the Regillus; all this forms an *epopee*, which in depth and brilliance of imagination, leaves every thing produced by the Romans in later times, far behind it. Knowing nothing of the unity which characterizes the most perfect of Greek poems, it divides itself into sections, answering to the *adventures* in the lay of the Niebelungen; and should any one ever have the boldness to restore it in a poetical form, he would commit a great mistake in selecting any other than that of this noble work.

"On the confines of mythology, poetry is predominant; at the opposite end, history. Of the men named, during the period we are entering upon, but few are imaginary; many chronological statements from the yearly registers, have all the definiteness that can be expected in so dim an age: but then the historical part of our information is confined to this. For when historians arose, attention was exclusively directed to what bore the name of annals: no use was made of monuments and original documents; perhaps through carelessness; perhaps because they could not be made to agree with the poetical legends, and none then knew how to appreciate the value of a fragmentary history drawn from authentic documents."

In our inquiries into the real origin of the Roman people, we may be guided independently of tradition: by the nature of its language; by the state of the population of Italy at the time of its first rising into notice; and by a comparison of the Roman customs and institutions with those of surrounding nations. Language, indeed, furnishes a sure criterion by which to judge of the mixture of races that form one common people. In that of Rome, we can still trace distinctly a double origin, and thus infer that at least two distinct races concurred in the production of the people-king. The most important and easily recognised of these co-ordinate tongues, is unquestionably Greek, and in its form approaching to the more ancient dialect, the *Æolic*. In this, we find the names of nearly all the objects relating to tillage and the gentler arts of life;\* while all military terms are obviously foreign to the Grecian language. The impression is irresistible, that a gentle and agricultural race had been conquered by one warlike and ferocious, who did not practise the arts of peace, and consequently had no name for its implements or products.

The nation by whose intervention we are to trace the common origin of a part of the Latin tongue, and that of the Greeks, is that of the *Pelasgi*. We find sufficient evidence in ancient writers to prove, that before the dawn of authentic history, this primitive people had spread its tribes over a vast extent of country. Our author conceives that he is warranted in affirming that they were settled, not in wandering hordes, but as powerful and respectable nations, from the Po and the Arno in Italy, to the

\* *Domus, Ager, Aratrum, Vinum, Oleum, Bos, Sus, Ovis, &c.* are all Greek; while of *Ensis, Gladius, Hasta, &c.*, we see no trace in that language.



Rhyndacus, a river of Mysia, in Asia Minor. But when history began to be written, all that remained of this race were solitary and scattered relics;—much as we still find the Celtic tribes isolated and detached in Scotland, in Wales, in Connaught, in Brittany, and in the mountains of Spain. Those who could not appreciate the extent of their influence upon the manners and language they were themselves using, attempted to account for this diffusion by an hypothesis of colonies and migrations, and these at so late a period as to have been impossible in the then state of the intervening countries.

The Arcadians, the most ancient Argives, and the Ionians, were all Pelasgic races. So were the people of Attica, even before the Ionic emigration.\* Thessaly was occupied by them, and there is every probability that the Epirots, Illyrians, and Liburni, were of the same origin, and so in the opinion of our author, were the first settlers of Macedon. In Italy, the Tyrrheni are identified as Pelasgi, in consequence of the flight of a portion of the nation into Greece. The serfs of the cities of Magna Græcia, who were Ænotrians, are styled Pelasgi, and were no doubt identified by their language.

Our author ventures a conjecture which is highly plausible, that the Trojans were also Pelasgi, an hypothesis, which, if admitted, will explain a great number of traditions, the Italian origin of Dardanus, and the voyage of Æneas. In what manner this nation passed into Hellenes, is foreign to the present inquiry; it is sufficient to state, that there is convincing proof that the oldest settlers to whom our inquiries can reach, whether in Greece or in Italy, were of the same race, and this race Pelasgic. Among other evidences, may be adduced the identity of architecture. This, which has been styled Cyclopean, is found to prevail in the more ancient buildings of both countries, and to precede in the one, the dawn of what is more properly styled Grecian art, in the other, the rise of the Etruscan architecture. It would be tedious to enumerate the different specimens of this architecture, which, worthy of beings as gigantic as the fabled race to which they are attributed, still astonish the present age.

"We are certainly forced to pronounce these works foreign to the tribes known to our history in Latium, as greatly surpassing their power; but we must content ourselves with confessing, that our history does not reach up so far. For, the difficulty lies only in the inadequate power of those tribes. The Etruscan walls, and the works of the Roman kings, are not inferior, or even surpass them in magnitude; the raising and removing the obelisks hewn out of rocks, is a still more gigantic undertaking, one that still mocks our mechanical powers. The Peruvian walls and roads, are also no less enormous, than the buildings called Cyclopean; but, in these cases, there is nothing incredible; because we know that thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, laboured at task work, and that no regard was paid to the sacrifice of lives. Those forgotten tribes, in the

\* Vol. i. p. 25.

country of the Cascans and Latins, compared with whose architecture, that of Rome, under the Cæsars, is diminutive, belong to, or precede a period, in which the Greek historian of the Augustan age, in accord with the philosophical historians of the last century, saw nothing in this very country of the aborigines, but savages, scarcely possessing the faculty of speech, the offspring of the rude earth. In like manner, the vaulted drains of Lake Copais, which are carried thirty stadia through the solid rock, and to clear which was beyond the power of Bœotia, in the time of Alexander, are certainly the work of a people prior to the Greeks."

Of the same race were the Siculi, who probably escaped from the arms that reduced their compatriots to bondage, and sought independence in Sicily, where, however, they finally suffered the same fate with their brothers of Peloponnesus, and became the serfs of the Doric Race.

While we agree with Niebuhr in his views of the once extended dominion of the Pelasgic tribes, we must enter our strong protest against the idea he has thrown out in respect to their *autochthonic* origin; an idea inconsistent with revelation, and if admitted, destructive of all our received views of the economy of the Deity in his government of the world. This idea, which is but faintly sketched in his first edition, assumes a more decided character in the one before us. We conceive that it is sufficient to quote it, in order to show its absurdity:—

"Pherecydes had not the same grounds which justified Hellanicus in the case of the insulated Pelasgians, at Spina and Cortona, for assuming an emigration from Hellas, in the case of the Œnotrians and Peucetians, to whom he should have added the Siculi of the island. The latter conclusion, was dictated by the fallacy which is still so general, that tribes of a common stock must have sprung genealogically, by ever-widening ramifications, from a common root. This fallacy escaped detection among the ancients, perhaps because they admitted many races of men originally different. They who do not recognise such a plurality, but ascend to a single pair of ancestors, betray that they have no idea of languages and their modifications, unless they cling to the miracle of the confusion of tongues; a miracle which may suffice, with respect to such races as present no striking physical difference. But, if we acknowledge that the origin of things lies in all cases beyond the sphere of our notions, which comprehend only development and progress, if we confine ourselves to going back, step by step, in the range of history, we shall frequently find tribes of one race, that is identified by peculiarities of character and language, on opposite coasts: as, for instance, the Pelasgians in Greece, Epirus, and the south of Italy: without any necessity for assuming one of these separate regions to have been the original home, whence a part emigrated to the other. In like manner, we find Iberians on the islands of the Mediterranean; Celts in Gaul and Britain. This is analogous to the geography of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; the great classes of which are separated by mountains, and inclose narrow seas.

Besides nations which are distinguished in their language and species, only by stronger and fainter shades, there are others, which differ so widely from each other, that to explain the affinity, which notwithstanding they indisputably exhibit, it would be necessary, according to the ordinary view, to suppose that they have been intermixed; or, if their languages bear the stamp of a natural development, that they have diverged from the common character, in opposite directions, carelessly and capriciously, a supposition that is contrary to all experience. Thus, the affinity of the Persian language with the Slavonic, in structure and etymology, and, in some points, with the German, is striking: the same relation exists between the Slavonic and Lithuanian; perhaps, also, between the Gælic and Welsh: and so likewise, there is an evident fundamental af-

finity between the Latin and Greek language ; not a mere intermixture, which only gives and alters certain words : but, at the same time, we may perceive a difference no less decided, even in the element of the former, in which, before the languages of totally different races were mixed with it, the affinity subsisted pure. This, however, is not more surprising, than the conformities and diversities perceivable throughout nature, which characterize species, and among them many that pass for accidental varieties, so that they maintain unalterably a distinct existence, and are collected into one genus only by abstraction. Such kindred, but essentially distinct races, were the Greeks and Pelasgians."

Now, if the above extract mean any thing, it seems to express an opinion, that the different varieties of the human race, have sprung up in different soils and climates, identical in their generic, but differing in their specific character, according to local circumstances ; and that races differing, thousands of miles in their habitation, should, notwithstanding, acquire languages so similar in structure, and even in words, that, "according to the ordinary view," these tongues may, without any violation of probability, be considered as mere dialects. Infidelity has led its votaries into many absurd opinions, but we do not recollect to have met with any so absurd as this. The received chronology of the Old Testament, and still more, that which may be derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch, affords ample time for a nation to have spread itself as widely as the Pelasgi, before the dawn of profane history. The emigrations of Cadmus, of Cecrops, of Danaus, and the migrations of the Hellenic tribes, suffice to explain that change, in the constitution, the language, and the manners of Greece, which transported it from a Pelasgic to a Hellenic nation. The sources of the changes that occurred in Italy, must be sought in another direction.

The Pelasgi never extended far to the north. We find them bounded by the Strymon and the Algos in Macedon, and closely skirting the coasts of the Adriatic. Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose, that they found their way into Europe, directly from Asia, by the way of the Hellespont, while the races that successively invaded them, were pursuing the more lengthened circuit of the Euxine ? Even profane history, shows us the ancestors of people who have since spread themselves over western Europe, engaged in wars in the narrow countries that lie between the Black and Caspian seas. The Massagetæ, or Goths, are found to force the Scythians upon the Cimmerians, who are unquestionably the first germ of the vast nation of Celts. The last named people, then, for the first time, entered Europe, and settled around the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whence, in process of time, they were urged forwards by the irresistible stream of Gothic and Scythian population, until we find them, in the time of Cæsar, driven beyond the Seine in Gaul, flying to the mountains of Noricum, and occupying the remote island of Britain ; while, in the previous ages, they had penetrated to Italy, Greece, and



even back into Asia. If the prevalence of Roman power, checked, for a time, the progress of the Gothic nations, and destroyed or subdued the advanced guard of the mighty host, the delay was but temporary; and the people whom we find in its earliest state, warring in the defiles of the Caucasus, finished its victorious career on the confines of the Lybian desert, after subduing Spain, and passing the pillars of Hercules.

Such instances of emigration, founded on well-established historical facts, form most striking illustrations of the truth of the belief, which holds that all nations arose in Asia, from one common stock. The diversities of physical conformation, are but specific differences, or, rather, cases of accidental variety, growing indeed out of causes now inscrutable to us, and that have, perhaps, ceased to act. Our globe shows upon its surface, the action of physical causes, far more intense than any we now know to exist; and the same activity, in the causes that we still see affecting, in less degrees, the colour, the forms, and the stature of men, would account sufficiently well for all their varieties. That a great catastrophe, sweeping all animated beings from the face of the earth, by the power of mighty currents of water, did take place, not partially, but generally, at a period not more remote than that assigned for the deluge, we have now conclusive evidence, distinct from that of sacred history. To dry up the humid surface, to clothe it with new vegetation, and fit it for the abode of our race, must have demanded an agency, similar, indeed, but far more effective, than that which now produces similar results. We dare not venture to ascribe this to direct miracle; the usual course of Providence works by natural means; and we would be loath to apply supernatural agency, except in those very cases, where the record of direct interposition to vary and alter the course of physical things, is preserved for our instruction. If, then, the action of natural agents must thus have been, and for a very limited time, more intense than it has since been, may they not have affected our species, as powerfully as they must have done the surface of the earth, and the vegetable world?

The earliest authentic accounts, show no part of the Pelasgic race, retaining its independence in Italy, except the *Ænотrians*. The *Tyrrheni*, extending at that time from the Tiber, through the present Tuscany, and across the valley of the Po to the Alps, had become the vassals of a race with which they have been hitherto confounded. This race was the *Etrurian*, or *Tuscan*.

Between *Ænотria* and *Tyrrhenia*, were interposed the *Opi-cans*, *Oscans*, or *Ausonians*. The *Oscan* language, is the root of that part of the *Latin*, which is not of *Pelasgic* origin and cognate to the *Greek*. It appears to have been the source of the tongues of the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, and the language of the *Sam-*



nites, is expressly called Oscan ; hence, it was used by the whole race of the Sabelli, including the Sabines, the Marsians, the Marrucinians, the Pelignians, and the Vestinians. Our author also classes the Hernici with the Oscan race. This language also spread into Bruttium and Messapia, and it is probable that it was the dialect of the Apulians. Unlike the Etruscan, it is not an inexplicable mystery. The remains of it that have reached us in the form of inscriptions, may, from their identity with the Latin, be in some cases explained word for word, and are, in all, perfectly intelligible. Its words are still extant in the Latin, but in shapes that have lost syllables and terminations ; and we find grammatical forms in it, which we still recognise in the Roman tongue, but rarely, and as exceptions to the inflexions derived from the Pelasgic. If, then, we can, by the aid of the Latin, still decypher the Oscan, it need not surprise us that it was understood by the people of Rome, and that they listened with pleasure to plays performed in that tongue. Nothing was required but a little use, as we at the present day read with ease the Pastorals of Burns and Ramsay, although written in language antiquated in England since the days of Henry IV.

To the Oscan race also belong the Casci, who, according to our author, uniting with the conquered Pelasgi, formed the Latins. The ruling powers among the Umbrians, were also cognate to the Oscans. Whether, in their occupation of Italy, they had preceded the Pelasgi, and after being driven by them to strong holds in the Appenines, had again descended and subdued them, or whether they had followed them, is unimportant, and beyond the reach of modern researches. That to the ancestors of the Roman people, they had once stood in the relation of military rulers, is evident from what we have already stated of the respective origin of the military and agricultural terms of the Latin language ; the former being Oscan, the latter Pelasgic.

Another people exercised a prominent agency upon the fortunes and history of Italy. This was the Etruscan nation, long confounded with their subject Tyrrheni, but at last distinguished from them, in a masterly manner, by Niebuhr.

"About the time of the Persian wars, the Etruscans excited the attention and fears of the Greeks as masters of the Tyrrhenean Sea ; although Dionysius is mistaken in supposing that the Greeks named the whole west of Italy after them : that name belongs to the period of the genuine Tyrrhenians. When they were confined to Tuscany, and even there had become dependant on the sovereignty of Rome, their renown passed away, and the cotemporaries of Polybius held their former greatness to be fabulous. In Roman History, they are of importance, only from the period of the kings, to the Gallic conquest. Afterwards, in comparison with the Sabellian tribes, they are quite inglorious. By the Greeks they are mentioned, mostly to their discredit ; sometimes as pirates, sometimes as gluttons ; by the Romans, only, as aruspices and artists : it is not a traditional opinion which has taught the moderns, that, without regard to the extent their empire once had, they were one of the most remarkable nations of antiquity. The ruins of their cities, the numerous works of art that have been discovered,

the national spirit of the Tuscans, who saw in them, ancestors they were proud of; even the tempting enigma of a language utterly unknown: all this has drawn the attention of the moderns toward them above every other Italian tribe; and the Etruscans are at present incomparably more celebrated and honoured than they were in the time of Livy. Unhappily, the interest thus felt, has not been combined with an equal degree of judgment and impartiality: men have not been willing to content themselves with knowing only what research could discover: and no part of literature relating to ancient history, contains so much that is irrational, hasty, and unprofitable, nay uncandid, as may be found in what has been written on the Etruscan language and history, since the days of Anniius of Viterbo."

Because Tyrrhenia retained its name after it had been conquered by the Etruscans, the Greeks called two different races by the same epithet; as we, by the terms Mexicans and Peruvians, understand at the present day, the descendants of the Spaniards, who conquered those countries, and yet know no other names for the original inhabitants. Now, as the one race was Pelasgic, which the Greeks supposed to be confined to their own country, the story of the Thessalian migration was invented, and for similar reasons the tale of the Lydian descent of the ancient Tyrrheni.

Dionysius combats both these opinions. That the account of a Lydian colony was not founded on a tradition of that country, he shows by quoting the authority of Xanthus; and his assertion that the Etruscans spoke a peculiar language, cannot be overcome, because when he lived, it was both spoken and written. The names of Tusci and Etruria, appear to have been foreign to them in their own tongue; they called themselves Rasena. In the time of their greatness, they not only ruled over Etruria proper, but over a great part of the valley of the Po, from which it appears they had expelled the Umbrians. Their territories extended to the North into Rhætia, whose name, indeed, appears to be derived from the same source as Rasena. But they at no time occupied the whole of Cisalpine Gaul. The Ticinus formed their western boundary on the northern bank of the Po, where they met the Ligures, and the latter nation appear to have possessed the southern bank, as far as the site of Parma. To the north of the Appenine, they possessed twelve sovereign cities, united by ties of confederacy, and the same number in Etruria proper.

The form and manner of their government is very important, inasmuch as it sheds great light upon the early history of Rome. Each of the sovereign capitals, possessed a territory containing a number of subject towns, inhabited by colonies, or by the descendants of the old population that had been subdued. Founded upon conquest, the Etruscan state consisted of a nobility, upon whom were dependant vast numbers of clients; hewers of stone, tasked by severe masters, to whose labours we owe the works attributed to the ruling people; the taste and design, however, are alone Etruscan; the workmanship is Pelasgic.

The general affairs of the Etruscan nation, were not decided

by popular assemblies, or even by a numerous senate, but by meetings of the chiefs of the land. These chiefs were the persons from whom the Romans received instruction in divination; they constituted a warlike sacerdotal caste, and were, in truth, a feudal nobility, exalted by the aid of popular superstition. Even so late as the campaigns of Hannibal in Italy, the government of the Etruscan cities was vested in the nobility, while in the south of Italy, the people had, as at Rome, obtained a share of the supreme power. A free and respectable commonalty, was never formed among the Etruscans, and to this, we are to ascribe the weakness of its rich and populous cities, in the Roman wars, so soon as that state had, by its institutions, obtained a numerous infantry composed of free citizens.

The Etruscans had at one period stretched their power across Latium, and formed establishments in Campania. These were short-lived; the territory of Latium was soon forced from their sway, but a settlement in Campania existed for a longer period. We cannot but think, that we see in this irruption of the Etruscans, an event, that had a powerful influence on the destinies of Rome. The intimate connexion between the Roman Patricians and the nobility of Etruria, is consistent only with an identity of caste, and of course a connexion in blood. The relations of patron and client, are the same feudal institution, perhaps in a nobler form, as that which united the princes of Etruria to their vassals. The original government of Rome, is shown by our author to have been strictly aristocratic. The *Curiae* in which the sovereign power was lodged, and by whom the original senate was chiefly chosen, were the assemblies of the Patricians, and not of the whole people. The *gentes* of which the *Curiae* were composed, were clans, whose bond of union was patriarchal; and, although not solely growing out of ties of blood, yet dependent upon it in a great degree. Such are the clans of the Highlands of Scotland, even up to the present time, every member of which bears the gentile name, as in Rome, and many of which count kindred with the chief, while others are the descendants of mere bondsmen, or members of broken clans, that have sought and received protection.

Niebuhr, in his first edition, inclines to the opinion, that Rome was a colony of the Etruscan city of *Cære*, once known as the Greek *Agylla*, but reduced by the former nation. With this city, the connexion of Rome is mysterious, and cannot be explained by any of the received histories. This hypothesis we do not find repeated in the present edition, but it is well worthy of examination:—

“If Rome was an Etruscan city, it must be regarded as a colony from one of the twelve cities; and by this means, the origin of the subordinate class, the *Clients*, is easily explicable. They would be the old inhabitants of the district,



the Siculi, a people connected with the Greek, (Pelagic,) stock : and the name of their city, may have more than the sound of a Greek word. Thus, Cære was Sicilian, and her Etruscan name did not supplant the old Sicilian one in the mouth of a Greek."

But Rome had not a single origin, nor could it have been as recent as the date, *ab urbe condita*. Many circumstances must have compelled an occupation of the seven hills, as early as a population began to exist on the banks of the Tiber. The aborigines are mentioned as dwelling in thickly settled villages, upon the hills; one unquestionably existed upon the Palatine mount, another on the Janiculum, a third near the Vatican, and a fourth, and more important, on the Agonian or Quirinal hill, to which the capitol served as a citadel. Motives of security, would have led the Pelagic race to occupy these strong posts, so soon as they began to apprehend danger from their invaders; and modern researches have shown traces of Cyclopean walls, within the circuit of Rome. The nature of the climate, would also have led to the occupation of these hills, as soon as the country was peopled. The malaria, if more terrific in modern times, was not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Tiber and the plains of Latium. They performed their agricultural labours in the healthy season, but retired to the hills during the period of disease. The advantages of the site of Rome, in this respect, are well depicted by Cicero.

"Locumque delegit, et fontibus abundantem, et in regione pestilenti salubrem: colles enim sunt, qui cum perflantur ipsi, tum adferunt umbram vallibus." *De Repub.* lib. ii. cap. vi.

Long after the history of Rome becomes authentic, the barns and permanent dwellings of the landed proprietors, and their labourers, lay within the walls of the city.

An inquiry into the state of things, which probably existed about the time assigned for the foundation of Rome, may, perhaps, assist us to understand the legends, that, although false in themselves, were beyond doubt a poetic version of the true occurrences. The Etruscans had spread their conquests over the plains of the Campagna di Roma, and extended their sway to the ancient Campania. They had, no doubt, established in the villages and fortified places which occupied the hills of Rome, a government similar to that we find in Tuscany itself, of patrons ruling over clients. In such a state, the Palatine hill continued, while the Sabines, an Oscan race, issuing from the Appenines, occupied the Capitol and Quirinal hill. Between these contiguous establishments, hostilities were inevitable, probably bloody, but, from the strength of their positions, and the imperfection of the art of attack, indecisive. That either of them should have anxiously sought the aid of mercenaries, or wandering warriors, is evident; and the Etruscans of the Palatine hill, found this in



a Latin band, probably expelled from their homes by a Sabellian invasion, and equally enemies with them of the Sabine name. That a bold and successful *condottiero* should have been enabled to assume the kingly authority, is not improbable, while the haughty spirit of the Etruscan nobles, as well as the religious prejudices of caste, would have forbidden the admission of him or his followers, to the right of intermarriage. That such a right, denied at home, and spurned by the neighbouring villages, should have been sought by fraud, supported by the force of arms, is no improbable story, and that these surreptitious marriages should have finished by cementing the followers of Romulus into one people with the subjects of Tatius, is in the course of nature; while the descendants of the ravished Sabines, in right of the blood of their mothers, might safely claim the sacred privileges of the Oscans, and challenge equality of honours with the Etruscans of the Palatine. Hence, the three tribes, with their retainers and clients, of which the state of Romulus finally consisted. These three tribes were named Rhamnes, Tities, and Luceres. The second was of Sabine, the third, of Tuscan origin; the first unquestionably Latin, as we can in no other way account for the affinity of the early Romans with the Latin nation.

We shall have occasion to notice the elevation of another leader of mercenaries to the regal title, which renders our hypothesis less improbable; nor is it to be wondered at, when we consider, that the power ascribed to the kings was extremely limited, in all but military matters.

That the unknown leader of a warlike band, should have aspired to the honours of divine original, and that he should have sought to derive his descent on the human side, from a royal race, in the country of his nativity, is consistent with the practice of the age. But the latter part of the tale is as improbable as the former; for Romulus, although, by the legend, the heir of the Alban throne, takes no steps to claim his rights; and the subsequent legend of the fall of Alba, makes no mention of the sway of the descendants of Æneas.

Niebuhr, in his hypothesis of a tribe, (the Rhamnes,) inhabiting the Palatine hill, united to a Sabine tribe on the Capitoline, confesses the difficulty which arises from the cotemporaneous appearance of a third tribe. To solve the difficulty, he infers that this last had inferior civil rights. Of this, however, there is no proof; the presumption derived from the legend is, rather, that they all stood upon an equal footing. In fact, in another place, our author seems to be inclined to place the Luceres first, in consequence of their influence in religious matters. Cicero derives the name of this tribe from Lucumo, an ally of Romulus in the Sabine war. This name is, however, not that of an

individual, but a title of office, held by the chief magistrate of all the Etruscan cities.

That the Sabines, under Tatius, were not distant from the site of Rome, but actually inhabited the Quirinal hill, and occupied the capitol, is conclusively established by our author; the existence of a town on the Palatine mount, is admitted by all historians; their alliance would have formed but two tribes, and yet the very name, is a proof more cogent than can be furnished in any other way, that the distinction could not have taken place, before there were three tribes in existence.

This federal union, must have formed a power far greater than that of any of the surrounding towns; hence, they either sought the alliance, or were subdued by the arms of their ambitious neighbour. One general system of policy, seems to have been adopted towards those who submitted; the inhabitants were removed to Rome, and compelled to reside within its walls. It does not, however, appear, that they were deprived of their property. One third alone of their lands, became the property of the *Populus Romanus*; the remaining two-thirds were left to the former proprietors. As a return for protection, in some cases, and escape from total ruin in others, they became liable to military service. Free in person, although possessing no share in the government, they furnished the formidable infantry that finally subdued the world, and were the progenitors of those sturdy plebeians, who, at the close of the republic, constituted nearly the whole nation.

The greater part of the people thus united to the Roman state, were Latins; and the union with Alba, an event which cannot be questioned, however false may be the circumstances narrated as having attended it, finally gave a Latin character to the united people. The ancient language became entirely unintelligible, and any traditions in it must have been wholly lost. All the traditions now extant, in reference to times antecedent to the æra of the foundation of the city, are therefore Latin; the Etruscan and Sabine legends are for ever lost. The very name of the ancient city became foreign to its inhabitants, and restricted to the patrician families, was held by them too sacred to be pronounced by the common people.

Among the more remarkable of the Latin legends, is that in relation to the settlement of *Æneas*. Our author is inclined to reject it in toto. It was, in truth, unimportant in its consequences, and may therefore be admitted to be either true or false, without changing the character of the history. We must, for ourselves, say, that it is too much endeared to us by early impressions, to be rejected, and that we would as willingly join the critics, who deny that Troy ever existed, and thus destroy the illusion of the *Iliad* Poem, as unite in committing a similar out-

rage upon the *Æneid*: be the story true or false, it was believed by the Romans at a very early date; and the first negotiation on record, with the states of Greece, expressly refers to the Trojan origin of the Roman nation. The Greeks, too, were aware, and admitted, that the whole Trojan race was not extinguished, although the place of its preservation was hid from them in the obscurity of the Latin nation, until it again burst forth into splendour, as the people-king of Rome.

Let us, however, hear what our author says upon this subject.

“By this combination of evidence, I think I have established the correctness of the view, that the Trojan legend did not come out of the Greek literature into Latium, but must be considered as native: and when I have added that it has not on that account the least historical truth,—any more than the descent of the Goths from the Getes, or that of the Franks and Saxons from the Macedonians, all which are related with full faith by native writers,—nor even the slightest historical importance, I should wish I might quit the subject. But he who brings forward inquiries of this kind, is seldom permitted to decline expressing his suspicion, if he has one, where no human sagacity can arrive at a decisive solution; as is here the case with the question, how, after all, this tradition may have arisen. The following hypothesis, is, with me, not a desperate attempt to find some escape or other from a difficulty: it is my conviction; yet, but for that necessity of speaking, I should be silent on the subject.

“Every thing we have to rely upon in the mythological stories, which can help us in discovering the affinities of nations, indicates that which existed between the Trojans and the Pelasgic tribes, the Arcadians, Epirots, Cœnотrians; but, above all, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. Dardanus comes from the city of Corythus to Samothrace, and thence to the Simois: Corythus is, in Virgil, a Tyrrhenian; according to Hellanicus and Cephalon, a Trojan: this expedition of Dardanus, that of the Trojans to Latium and Campania, and the migrations of the Tyrrhenians to Lemnos, Imbrus, and the Hellespont, may safely be explained as only indicating national affinity. That the Penates of Lavinium were the gods of Samothrace, is an opinion almost universally received: so much so, that Atticus, though he did not controvert the story about the migration of *Æneas*, concluded that the Penates had been brought from that island: so much so, that the Samothracians, like the Ilians, are said to have been recognised as kinsmen of the Roman people: which must be understood to mean not merely the belief of individuals, but one declared by the government. From this community of religion, as of lineage, it might ensue, that more than one branch of the nation should call themselves Trojans, and boast of being a colony in possession of the Trojan sacred treasures, said not to have been lost, but rescued. For many generations after they had bowed under barbarian rule, Tyrrhenians will still have visited the holy land of Samothrace; and there Herodotus may have heard citizens of Cortona and Pluria converse; there Lavinians and Gergithians may have mutually awakened and strengthened the conviction of their kindred, through the common ancestor, *Æneas*. The superiority maintained when the Tyrrhenians and Cœnотrians united, by one of the two nations in religion, by the other in arms, is implied in the line:

‘*Sacra Deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto.*’

only that Latinus himself must be considered as a Tyrrhenian.

“The legend was altered in various ways: even imperfect traces of its earliest form, before, like others, it experienced the fate of being adulterated into a tale of something historically possible, demand a place in the history of Rome.”

Our author then proceeds to quote authorities, and give the various versions of the legend, as related by them, with their



account of the wars, until the descendants of Æneas became lords of Latium. After which he goes on thus:—

“ These wars Virgil describes, effacing discrepancies, and altering and accelerating the succession in the latter half of the Æneid. Its contents were certainly national; yet it is scarcely credible, that even Romans, if impartial, should have received sincere delight from these tales. We feel, but too unpleasantly, how little the poet succeeded in raising these shadowy names, for which he was obliged to invent a character, into living beings, like the heroes of Homer. Perhaps it is a problem that remains to be solved, to form an epic poem, out of an argument which has not lived for centuries in popular songs, and tales as common national property, so that the cycle of stories which comprises it, and all the persons who act a part in it, are familiar to every one. Assuredly the problem was not to be solved by Virgil, whose genius was barren for creating, great as was his talent for embellishing. That he felt this himself, and did not disdain to be great in the way adapted to his endowments, is proved by his very practice of imitating and borrowing, by the touches which he introduces of his exquisite and extensive erudition, so much admired by the Romans, now so little appreciated. He who puts together elaborately, and by piecemeal, is aware of the chinks and crevices, which varnishing and polishing conceal only from the unpractised eye, and from which the work of the master, issuing at once from the mould, is free. Accordingly, Virgil, we may be sure, felt a misgiving, that all the foreign ornament, with which he was decking his poem, was not his own wealth, and that this would at last be perceived by posterity. That notwithstanding this fretting consciousness, he strove, in the way which lay open to him, to give a poem, which he did not write of his own free choice, the highest degree of beauty that it could receive from his hands; that he did not, like Lucan, vainly and blindly affect an inspiration which nature had denied to him; that he did not allow himself to be intoxicated, when he was idolized by all around him, and when Propertius sung:

‘ Yield Roman Poets, Bards of Greece, give way,  
The Iliad soon shall own a greater lay:’

that when death was releasing him from the fetters of civil observances, he wished to destroy what in those solemn moments he could not but view with melancholy, as the ground-work of a false reputation; this is what renders him estimable, and makes us indulgent to all the weaknesses of his poem. The merit of a first attempt is not always decisive: yet Virgil’s first youthful poem shows that he cultivated his powers with incredible industry, and that no faculty expired in him through neglect. But how amiable and generous he was, is evident when he speaks from the heart, not only in the Georgics, and in all his pictures of pure still life; in the epigram on Syron’s Villa: it is no less visible in his way of introducing those great spirits that beam in Roman history.”

Those who now read the history of the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians, might at the first glance be tempted to believe, that the latter were a body inferior in the mass, in birth and in fortune; that it was a dispute, in truth, between a nobility and their vassals. A more attentive consideration will show us how erroneous is this opinion. The origin of the Plebs we have stated to be in the inhabitants of neighbouring towns, who either voluntarily, or in consequence of being conquered, removed and settled in Rome. Here they received a species of franchise, like the citizenship, without a vote of after times. The power of government still remained vested in the Curia, but the plebeians were notwithstanding free. Still, however, they were far from possessing equality of civil rights; they had no right of inter-



marriage, and, in their relations to the patricians, they had uniformly the disadvantage. But their body included those possessed both of wealth and pride of birth, the landholders, and the nobility of the conquered cities, as well as the labourers. Thus, then, while they were excluded from any share in the government by the patricians, they must have felt a proud superiority over the clients of that body. As successive regions were added to the territory, tribes were formed, which were added to the original three, until the number amounted to thirty; each of which appears to have occupied, for the purpose of cultivation, a separate district. These new tribes originally contained only Plebeians; the Patricians and their clients were not enrolled among them, until a late period. The towns they had formerly occupied being destroyed, none but *Agricolæ* could have remained among the country tribes, and, in the succession of years, the pre-eminence which this species of labour held before all others, gave these tribes a higher rank than those of the city. At first, although patricians held lands in the territory of the tribes, it was by a tenure different from that by which it was held by the plebeians. It appears that in every case of conquest, one-third of the territory became the property of the Roman populus, and was granted in possession, free of impost, to patricians, as integral parts of the government; the residue was left in the hands of the conquered people, who paid a tribute. As the clients of the patricians enclosed in the city, became less hardy and warlike, the right of serving in the legions became restricted to the plebeians, in whose hands we find it at the earliest dawn of authentic history. The importance of the services of the plebeians to the government, as its troops, gradually raised them in importance, until they were enabled to claim a participation in the sovereignty.

Before, however, they were thus enabled to assert a right to civic honours, and the choice of magistrates, their peculiar situation must have subjected them to great oppression. We find evidence of this in the disputes between them and the patricians, but the weight of oppression appears to have reached its height, under some of the kings. In general, however, the kings must, from policy, have sought to conciliate the plebeians, and to make use of them to counterbalance the power of the privileged orders. But this does not appear to have been the case under the Tarquins, by whom great works were undertaken and completed, which are only consistent with an abject condition of the lower orders.

“What has made the name of Tarquinius ever memorable, is, that with him begins the greatness and splendour of the city. Often the legend fluctuates in ascribing a work or an exploit to him or to his son: but the vaulted sewers, by which the Velabrum, the Forums, the country down to the lower Subura, and the valley of the circus, till then swamps and lakes, or bays in the bed of the river, were drained, are by most of them called the work of the elder king: and coupled with this undertaking, must have been that of embanking the Tiber. In the valley thus gained, between the ancient town of Rome, and the Tarpeian

hill, he allotted a space for a market, and for the meetings of the people, built porticoes around it, and gave ground to such as wished to set up booths and shops there. Between the Palatine and the Aventine, the meadow redeemed from the water, was levelled and converted into a race course; every curia had a place here assigned to it, where the senators and knights erected scaffolds to view the games from, and where they will also have made room for their clients. He surrounded the city with a wall of hewn stone, after the Etruscan manner, or, at least made preparations for it. The building of the Capitoline temple from the very foundation, is ascribed by the earlier narratives, to the last king; to the father they only attribute the vow."

"Works that rival the greatest of the Etruscan, cannot have been accomplished, without oppressive task-work, any more than those of the Pharaohs, or of Solomon. The king cheered his people during their hard service, by games; which from this time forward, were celebrated annually in September, under the name of the Roman or great games."

"The chariot race was not the only enjoyment of the Circensia; there were, also, the processions, the images of the gods, borne along, robed in kingly garments, the armed boys, the war dances, and the ludicrous imitations of them. The worship of the gods, too, until then plain and simple, was clothed with pomp by Tarquinius; in his reign, bloody sacrifices are said to have been introduced, and adoration to have been first paid to representations of the gods under human forms.

"The memory of this king was cherished by the descendants of those who had sighed under his heavy yoke; nay, these sufferings were imputed to his detested son; although neither the forum nor the circus could have been laid out, until the great sewers had been built."

The history of the elder Tarquin, is one that merits serious investigation. He is admitted, on all hands, to have been an Etruscan by birth, and our author disproves, by reference to Grecian history, the tale of his Corinthian descent. The name of Lucumo ascribed to him, is not a proper name of Etruria, but a title of rank, and we find him acknowledged as sovereign by the Tuscan cities, without any of the evidence of his having conquered Etruria. Can it be that Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius, are as wholly fabulous as Romulus and Numa? Can Rome have been, down to this time, a member of the Etruscan confederacy, which becoming more powerful by the superior wisdom of its policy, was now admitted to the supremacy of the confederated state?

The rights of the people, have their rise in the constitution of Servius Tullius. We cannot but reject the legend of his birth and education as fabulous. A more probable history of his origin, has lately come to light, in a speech of the emperor Claudius, discovered at Lyons, in France. By this, he appears to have been the general of a mercenary force, brought by him to the aid of the elder Tarquin, but originally raised by Cæles Vibenna. That his constitution should have been founded solely upon military distinctions, strengthens this evidence, particularly as we do not find him to have manifested, as a king, any very warlike propensities, and might, therefore, have been at a loss to imagine the reason, why he should have wished to bring forward milita-

ry service, as a claim to a share in the government. Admit him to have risen, originally, as a soldier, and, perhaps, to have been elevated to the supreme authority, in opposition to the patricians, by his army, and the difficulty is solved.

The constitution of Servius, seems at first sight, to have looked to property, as the source of distinction ; but this is owing to the importance of a certain degree of wealth, in providing military equipments, and not to any leaning towards an aristocracy of wealth. In an age, when missile weapons were imperfect, and wars were decided by contests, hand to hand, with naked weapons, those who possessed the means of clothing themselves in complete armour, were far more valuable, as soldiers, than those who wielded none but offensive weapons. The phalanx was the original order of battle of the Roman army. Its first ranks were composed of those, who wore an entire suit of armour ; these were followed by those less fully armed ; while the rear was composed of men, hardly furnished with any protection, who merely added by their weight, to the force of the shock. When arms were of a costly material, and when workmanship was dear, in consequence of the low state of the mechanic arts, the equipment of a heavy armed foot soldier, must have required a very considerable sum. At this period, too, each person furnished his own arms, and supported himself during the short campaigns to which Roman warfare was then limited. That those who thus equipped themselves, should be entitled to a corresponding influence, would be so evidently just, that the distinctions of the *Comitia centuriata* of Servius, appear to have arisen almost from the very nature of the case. In subsequent ages, when the state was enabled to supply every soldier with arms, the obvious reason of the distinction ceased, and the maintenance of the power of the centuries became impossible. When wealth alone became the criterion of classification into centuries, not greater services rendered to the state, the superior power that grew out of it became obnoxious, and the *Comitia tributa*, where all stood upon a level, acquired more and more influence in the government.

However fortuitous may have been the arrangement into centuries, it notwithstanding furnished a most admirable method by which the contending interests of the patricians and plebeians, might be compromised. The former, who, in their *Curia*, were naturally equal among themselves, who, at first, formed no part of the majority of the tribes, fell with their clients into their proper places in the pedestrian centuries, or filled the equestrian suffragia, in which their nobility of birth, became more than a balance for fortune. The plebeian knights, being chosen for their wealth, we cannot conceive that to them the grant of a horse at the public cost could have been made.



"But at first, no doubt, it was one of the patrician privileges : indeed the incontestable meaning of the account in Cicero, is, that its origin was prior to that of the third estate : and if restricted to those among the ruling burghers, who, though equal to their fellows in rank, were inferior in fortune, it was neither unfair nor arrogant."

By this institution of Servius, the disastrous effects which have followed in all other instances, from the entire preponderance of either an oligarchy or a democracy, were avoided, and a proper balance maintained in the state, until the patrician caste sunk into comparative insignificance, from the diminution of its numbers, consequent on its peculiar constitution.

A nobility can only maintain its members, by the most extended rules for its descent, or by a provision for the admission of new families. The aristocracy of England is supported by the wise policy of admitting into its body, wealth and talent, wherever they arise ; but the patrician houses of Rome had no such resource, and were deprived of the privileges of conveying their rights by either marriage or adoption ; hence, in the age of Augustus, but fifty families were left, who bore the pure patrician stamp.

The largeness of the sums at which the property of the higher classes of centuries is estimated in the constitution of Servius, has frequently been a matter of surprise. It appears at first sight to indicate, at a time when the as weighed a full pound of brass, a degree of wealth almost incredible. Our author has, however, given a most satisfactory explanation of this apparently difficult question :—

"It is a remarkable and very distinguishing peculiarity of the nations in the middle of Italy, to employ copper in heavy masses as a currency, not silver : whereas the southern provinces, and the coast as far as Campania, although here the mode of computing by ounces was not unknown, made use of silver money. That the Etruscans, Umbrians, and some of the Sabellian tribes coined copper, is proved by the inscriptions on specimens that remain ; as to Latium and Samnium, no such pieces of their money with inscriptions have been found, any more than silver coin of theirs belonging to an early age. But the great variety in the form of ases, without inscription, shows that they must have been minted in many towns : the large sums of brass money that the Roman armies obtained amid their booty in Samnium, while but an inconsiderable weight of silver was carried home in triumph, evince that the former was the currency there : so it was undoubtedly in Latium : and a part of those nameless coins probably belonged to these two nations. Rome had the same system of currency ; and, according to a tradition, which very clearly proves how far and wide Servius Tullius was celebrated as the author of all institutions of importance, he was named by Timæus as the person who first stamped money at Rome ; the people before this time having employed brass in the lump, *æs rude*."

Brass was an article of prime necessity. It was in the early ages used for all the purposes for which we now employ iron. Copper has the advantage of being much more easily reduced from its ore than iron is, and certain of its alloys, (which we call by the general name of brass,) are applicable to the manu-



facture of arms, and of every species of domestic utensil. In Italy, the metal was in early ages extremely abundant. The Greeks of the Homeric age traded to Italy for copper, and exchanged iron for it.\* So long as the produce of the mines continued abundant, and the imperfection of navigation rendered its transport difficult, so long its price in barter would have been limited to the simple cost of production. But copper mines, although easily worked, are also easily exhausted, and a diminution of product, accompanied by increasing foreign demand, could not fail to enhance the value. Silver would flow in to pay for the exported copper, and a currency in that metal would replace the other. The relative value of the two metals would of course change; and the Romans appear to have followed this variation of proportion, in the successive reduction of the weight of their copper coin. Of their having followed in this reduction the ratio of its value to articles of prime necessity, we have evidence in the nominal price of grain. In the year 314, U. C. wheat fell to what was considered the low price of an as, the modius; in the year 505, when the as was cut down to a sixth part of its original weight, an equally low nominal price is recorded: and a hundred years later, in spite of the vast influx of wealth, wheat often sold for no more than two light ases, twelve to the pound.

The vast abundance of brass at one time, is shown by the price of many articles, and various other circumstances. Ten thousand pounds of it were allowed for the purchase of a knight's horse, and two thousand pounds for its annual keep; the heavy copper money was piled up in rooms, and we are told, that during the Veientine war, individuals sent their tribute to the treasury in wagon loads.

The reign of Servius Tullius, was a revolution by which the plebeians were raised to a share in the government; that of Tarquin the proud, may, on the other hand, be regarded as a counter-revolution, by which the privileged class again deprived them of any voice. In effecting this, however, so much power was thrown into the hands of the king, as to swallow up their own privileges. Hence we find them represented as most active in the expulsion of the Tarquins, and in abolishing for ever the regal power at Rome. The plebeians, however, were far from regaining the franchises conveyed to them by the constitution of Servius Tullius, and years of oppression elapsed, before the establishment of the tribunate interposed protectors between the people and their proud rulers.

The plebeians were prevented from taking advantage of the expulsion of the kings, by the moderation of the patricians, who,

\* *Odyss.* i. 184.

so long as the Tarquins were an object of alarm, and, until the war with Etruria was brought to a close, ruled with justice and moderation. No sooner had these pressing dangers ceased, than the patricians commenced to deal with the plebs as slaves, and thrust them out of all share in the government. A peculiar state of things, growing out of the fact, that the patricians enjoyed without rent, the use of the public domain, while the plebeians were forced at once to pay tribute, and to serve in uninterrupted wars, loaded the latter with debt, and was the foundation of new and more severe oppressions. With the secession of the people, to which this state of things gave rise, and the establishment of the tribunate, our author closes the first volume of his work. The translation of the second edition has not proceeded farther, and we shall close our review with an extract, exhibiting the state and condition of the plebs at the time of the secession.

"Money transactions among the Romans, were in the form of loans, to be repaid after a stated term; and this, in those times, as the arguments to be brought forward in another part of this history will prove, must certainly have been the year of ten months. The rate of interest was unrestricted, and therefore exorbitant: the first legal limitation of it to ten per cent., was a great relief to the plebs: no wonder then, that the cases in which the accumulation of interest raised the principal to many times its original amount, are spoken of as ordinary. It was the custom, to convert the principal when due, together with the interest, into a new debt: and the discharge of this must soon have become utterly impossible. To understand the condition of the plebeian debtors, let the reader, if he is a man of business, imagine that the whole debts of a country were turned into bills at a year, bearing interest at twenty per cent. or more; and that the non-payment of them was followed on summary process, by imprisonment and by the transfer of the debtor's whole property, even though it exceeded what he owed to the creditor. As to these farther circumstances, which are incompatible with our manners, the personal slavery of the debtor and his children, we have enough without them to form an estimate of the fearful condition of the unfortunate plebeians.

"Their wretchedness was consummated by a system of base injustice. The whole infantry of the line was formed of plebeians; and yet, not only was all share of the conquered lands refused to them; but even the plunder, which the Roman soldier, unless it was given up to him, was bound to deliver in upon oath, was often kept back from them; not that it was employed for national purposes; it went into the common chest of the Patricians.

"This picture of distress deluded Dionysius; so that when the whole commonalty was driven into insurrection, he looked upon them as nothing else than a low, starving, multitude, to which, idlers, libertines, vagabonds, such as harboured ill will against their neighbours, and such as were malcontents from temper or interest, attached themselves. The positiveness of this statement has an imposing effect; and it has been entirely overlooked, that Livy, though no way partial to the plebs, and though he was certainly far from having a clear insight into the nature of the several orders in early times, still does not contain a word, which, if rightly understood, can give even the shadow of support to such an opinion.

"For a Greek, it would have been difficult, in this case, to avoid being deceived: in the first place, because his language, poorer and less exact in political terms, than the Roman, had only the one word *demus*, to render both *populus* and *plebs*. Even in the time of Aristotle, this word had assumed a variety of senses, and denotes in democracies, the nation and assembly of the people, as opposed to the magistrates; in oligarchies, the commonalty; while popular usage

employs it for the common and needy folk. In the days of Augustus, many as were the Greek cities, and many as were those that pretended to be so, there was, perhaps, not a single oligarchy that had kept its ground; and democracies were rare; the Romans had every where introduced timocracies; and under these, though the general assembly of the citizens, still bore the name of *demus*, yet, at the same time, it was applied to those inhabitants, who, from not possessing the requisites for civic honours, were expressly excluded by law, or, at all events in fact, from offices, as common people. The civic plebs, too, as Dionysius found it at Rome in the eighth century, was undeniably a *demus* of this sort; formed by the body of those who partook of the largesses destined for the capital: this, too, consisted mainly of freedmen and half citizens. The respectable country people, and municipals, were completely separated from them: still higher stood the knights, many thousands in number: at top of all, the nobles who had coalesced with such patricians as were yet remaining.

"That all these, nevertheless, were plebeians in a constitutional point of view; that the whole Roman nation was so, with the exception of the fifty patrician houses that were yet preserved, and of the patrician families newly incorporated by Julius Cæsar and Augustus; this was certainly known to Dionysius."

"When an error has been firmly rooted for centuries, it can hardly be superfluous to bring forward a variety of definite instances in illustration of the truth. The Roman Plebs, formed as it was by the incorporation of whole bodies of citizens and country people, might be compared to the Vaudese dependent on the city of Bern, among whom the old Burgundian nobles stood on the same footing with the townsmen and peasantry, as contrasted with the sovereign canton. Or, if the reader be familiar with the history of Florence, let him imagine that the republic had united the whole inhabitants of the *distretto* into a commonalty: in this the Counts Guidi, and the Castellans of Mugello, as opposed to the ruling estate, did not, by the principles of the laws, stand above the houses of Pistoja or Prato, nay, above the common citizen, or yeoman of the Val d'Arno: at the same time, the former might, notwithstanding, be equal, perhaps more than equal, to the Uberti, and the other proudest houses of the ruling city, even according to their own notions of nobility. As in a later age, the Mamili, who traced their pedigree from Ulysses and Circe, were admitted among the plebeian citizens; so then there can be no question, that the families of plebeian knights in the earlier times, were the nobility of the *distretto*; that the first leaders of the plebs, the Licinii, and Icili, were no way inferior in birth to the Quinctii and Postumii."

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ART. VI.—*The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, with an Appendix.* Washington: 1828.

THE time is past, when it was necessary to prove the political or the moral evil of the slave trade. We might suppose, that no great strength of argument, could ever have been requisite to establish its impropriety; yet, not half a century has elapsed, since it was advocated by men of talents and learning, on the floor of the British Parliament, not on the plea of expediency only, but on the ground of its "humanity and holiness!" and the friends of abolition were "delighted, at the thought that



they would soon be able to prove, that Providence, in ordaining laws relative to the agency of man, had never made that to be wise which was immoral; and that the slave trade would be found as impolitic, as it was inhuman and unjust;" a truth which has, happily, been since demonstrated too clearly to admit a rational doubt. But it was long before this triumph could be obtained over the interests and the prejudices of mankind. The policy and the humanity of the slave trade, were maintained by men of the first standing in England; and it was not until after an arduous struggle of twenty years, during which the friends of humanity suffered repeated disappointments and defeats, that the united talents of Pitt and Fox, and Burke and Wilberforce, could induce the parliament of England to obey the dictates of humanity and justice, and abolish the trade for ever. Such was the slow and laborious progress of the cause in Great Britain.

In this country, the evils of slavery were soon felt and acknowledged. The first cargo of slaves was brought to Virginia, in the year 1621; and the legislature of the colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions upon their introduction. But these measures were always discountenanced, and the laws rejected by the queen in council, as injurious to the commerce and navigation of England; and slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entailed upon the colonies, to promote the supposed interests of the mother country. The commencement of our national independence, found this dreadful malady deeply rooted in our political system; and circumstances rendered it necessary for the framers of the present Constitution, to tolerate the continuance of the slave trade for a limited period; but, to the honour of our country, the power of prohibition was exercised, the moment the restriction imposed by the Constitution was removed; and now, after several prohibitory enactments, every one, in any way engaged in the slave trade, is declared a pirate, subject, upon conviction thereof, to the penalty of death.

It is not our purpose, at present, to enter into any detail of the evils of a coloured population, as it exists in this country; they are known and acknowledged by all; and whether we regard the southern states, oppressed by the system of slavery in actual operation, or those overrun by a free coloured population, we must admit, that any plan, which proposes to remove the evil, or even to diminish it, deserves a careful attention, and must be interesting to every division of the country, in proportion to the probability of its success. With these sentiments, we propose to notice the plan of the American Colonization Society—the history of its operation—the feasibility of its projects—and its probable effects upon this country, and upon Africa.



The idea of colonizing our coloured population, is not new. So early as the year 1777, a committee, (of which Mr. Jefferson was the head,) appointed by the legislature of Virginia, to revise the whole code of the laws of the commonwealth, reported, among other important regulations, a bill "to emancipate all slaves born after the passing of the Act; and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place, as the circumstances of the times should render most proper; sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c., to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength," &c. It is to be regretted, that this scheme, suggested by benevolence and patriotism, was never carried into effect. The situation of the country, exhausted by a protracted contest, and drained of her finances, as of her strength, probably prevented its accomplishment. But the plan, though postponed, was never abandoned. The legislature of Virginia passed several resolutions favourable to this project; and, on the 23d of December 1816, the General Assembly adopted a formal resolution, requesting "the executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the north Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same; and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." By the same resolution, the senators and representatives of the state, in Congress, were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects. Similar resolutions were adopted by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, and the plan of colonization seemed to meet with general favour.

It is doubtful, whether Dr. Findlay, of New-Jersey, or Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, be entitled to the honour of having first suggested the formation of a Colonization Society. Both these gentlemen had given their attention to this matter; and, in the month of December 1816, they united their efforts to carry their plan into effect. On the 21st of that month, a meeting of several gentlemen, called to consider the subject, was addressed by Mr. Clay, who, though his first impressions were against it, had been convinced of the advantages of the plan, and engaged warmly in the cause, of which he has ever

continued one of the steadiest and most zealous supporters. Several others joined in expressing their approbation of the scheme; a committee was appointed to prepare a Constitution; and soon afterwards, a society was formed, whose only object, as declared in the second article of the Constitution, "is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, (with their consent,) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." The original members of this Society, were principally gentlemen of the southern states; and Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, was chosen president. The attention of the Society was first directed to the choice of a proper site for the intended colony; and, for this purpose, two agents were sent to the coast of Africa. Having first visited England, to obtain what information they could, from those interested in the English settlement of Sierra Leone, they sailed from London for that settlement, on the 2d of February 1818. After explaining the object of their coming, every facility was afforded them; and two intelligent men of that colony, well acquainted with the country, accompanied them down the coast, to introduce them to the native chiefs, and act as interpreters in their negotiations for the purchase of lands. From the information they received, they determined upon the island of Sherbro, about one hundred miles south of Sierra Leone, as the most eligible situation for the proposed settlement; and, after visiting several of the "head men," or kings, on their way, they arrived at this island, and opened a negotiation with King Sherbro, for the purchase of a part of his territory. The conference was held at Yonie, the royal residence, and accompanied by all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. The agents waited on the king, whom they found seated in state, under a *cola* tree, surrounded by his council, and attended by his prime minister Kong Couber; the presents were displayed, and the object of the visit announced, to obtain lands, for the descendants of Africans, who wished to come from a far country, and settle peaceably in the dominions of king Sherbro. Kong Couber, in the name of his master, made a reply, which, upon the whole, was rather favourable; but, like his brethren of other cabinets, threw out some hints, and suggested some difficulties, which rendered it impossible to conclude matters at once, and protracted the negotiation a week; after which, a grand "palaver" was held, and it was agreed that the people should have such lands as they wanted, upon their arrival with goods to pay for them. The agents then returned to Sierra Leone, and thence sailed for the United States, where one of them, Mr. Burgess, arrived, on the 22d of October 1818; the other, Mr. Mills, whose energy and intelligence had greatly contributed to the success of the mission, died on the passage.

Encouraged by the representations of their surviving agent, the Society determined to lay the foundations of their colony as soon as possible; and, for this purpose, made great exertions to fit out an expedition immediately. In this they were assisted by the President of the United States, who, in carrying into effect the Act of Congress of the 3d March 1819, determined to unite with the Colonization Society, in the promotion of their object. By the second section of this Act, the President of the United States is authorized "to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient, for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board vessels, seized in the prosecution of the slave trade, by commanders of the United States' armed vessels."

In the execution of this authority, Mr. Monroe, then President of the United States, appointed Mr. Samuel Bacon and Mr. John P. Bankson, to reside on the coast of Africa, as agents of the United States, with instructions to co-operate with the agents of the Colonization Society; and, in the month of February 1820, these gentlemen sailed from New-York in the *Elizabeth*, a vessel chartered by the Society, and having on board Mr. Crozer, the Society's agent, and eighty-eight colonists. This first expedition was, in every way, unfortunate. It reached the African coast about the commencement of the rainy season, when the climate is peculiarly unhealthy; the natives refused to fulfil their contract for the sale of lands; the three agents, and twenty of the colonists, soon fell victims to the climate; and the survivors, under the direction of one of their number, Daniel Coker, who proved himself intelligent and very capable of the charge, were obliged to remain on the low grounds of the island of Sherbro, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and altogether in the most forlorn condition. Thus situated, Coker, by the advice of Captain Wadsworth of the United States' ship *John Adams*, who rendered him every assistance in his power, led back his people to Sierra Leone, there to await further instructions from the United States. In the month of March 1821, they were joined by a re-enforcement of twenty-eight new colonists, under the direction of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger, agents of the Society, accompanied by Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon, as agents of the United States. After providing a temporary residence for the colonists, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, Mr. Andrus and Mr. Bacon went to explore the coast, and fix upon a station for the projected settlement. In the coun-



try called Grand Bassa, a part of the Grain Coast of Guinea, about three hundred miles south of Sierra Leone, they found a tract of land, elevated, fertile, healthy, and in every way suited to their purpose. This was Cape Mesurado, or Montserado. The natives seemed very well disposed to receive them, and a negotiation was commenced for the purchase of land; but it was soon broken off, in consequence of the agents insisting upon the abolition of the slave trade, as a part of the treaty. To this the natives would not agree, the slave trade being their principal medium of communication with European and American traders, and their only means of procuring foreign luxuries. Failing in this, the agents refused to make any contract, and returned to Sierra Leone, where Mr. Andrus and Mr. Winn soon after died; and Mr. Bacon returned to the United States, leaving the colonists under the charge of Mr. Wiltberger. Thus far, the affairs of the colony wore but a gloomy aspect, and some of its friends might be tempted to despair of ultimate success: but there were still found zealous and able supporters of the noble cause, and Providence seemed at length to smile on their exertions.

In the fall of that year, (1821,) the Society appointed a new agent, Dr. Ayres, who immediately repaired to Sierra Leone; and being there joined by Lieutenant Stockton, in the United States' schooner *Alligator*, he proceeded with that active officer, who has always manifested a sincere interest in the cause of colonization, to endeavour to effect the purchase of Cape Mesurado.

Upon their arrival there, a negotiation was opened with King Peter, the sable monarch of that part of the coast, which, after considerable difficulty and delay on the part of his majesty and his allies, finally terminated by the agents obtaining the royal promise to "make a book," which would give him the land. The "book" was accordingly made, which was a regular deed signed by Dr. Ayres and Lieutenant Stockton, on the one part, and King Peter, together with five other native chiefs, on the other; by which they agreed, in consideration of about three hundred dollars, to give the strangers a tract of country, which was sufficient to answer all the immediate wants of the colony.

But all difficulty was not yet ended. When Dr. Ayres returned with the colonists from Sierra Leone, he found that some of the neighbouring chiefs, who had not been consulted, were dissatisfied with the bargain, which had been made without their concurrence, and threatened King Peter with death, if he did not annul the contract. Accordingly, his majesty, in great trepidation, begged Dr. Ayres to take back the goods, and relinquish his purchase; which he positively refused to do, insisting upon his right to retain the land which he had fairly bought. After some further negotiation, in which Dr. Ayres displayed



great coolness and decision, the natives yielded the point, and agreed to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, the settlers had been busily engaged in erecting houses, and providing for their immediate necessities. They had been thus occupied but a few weeks, when another danger threatened their destruction.

A British vessel, containing some recaptured Africans, stopping to water at the Cape, parted her cable, and was driven ashore. A French slaver was, at the time, hovering on the coast, waiting for a cargo; and this, joined to the almost universal principle of "wrecker's law," induced the natives to attempt to secure the prize. Several of the colonists engaged in her defence, and, in the contest that ensued, which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed; and, on the following day, a British soldier, and one of the colonists, shared the same fate. These events produced a great excitement among the natives; a grand palaver was held, at which a large number of chiefs were assembled; and the impending danger was only averted by the efforts of Dr. Ayres, who again succeeded in calming the natives, and preventing their committing any violence upon the colony. Notwithstanding his success in this crisis, the situation of the settlers at this time, owing "to the commencement of the rains, the unexpected difficulty in building, and the impossibility of obtaining native labour, on account of the recent disturbances," was so distressing, that Dr. Ayres determined to visit the United States, to acquaint the Society with the necessities of the colony, and obtain supplies for its relief. Before his departure, he offered to remove the colonists to Sierra Leone until his return, but they preferred remaining on their hard-earned territory, under the direction of one of the most respectable of their own number, whom Dr. Ayres appointed to the trust. Dr. Ayres sailed for this country the 4th of June 1822, leaving the emigrants in quiet possession of their settlement, but in great want of stores of all kinds.

On the 19th of June, the brig *Strong* sailed from Baltimore, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and thirty-five colonists, and arrived at Montserado the 8th of August. Mr. Ashmun was charged with the management of certain recaptured Africans, and also received authority to act as temporary agent of the board. On his arrival, finding that both the agents were absent, he assumed, according to his instructions, the office of principal agent, and immediately entered upon the active performance of its duties. After discharging the brig, he visited the most considerable kings in the neighbourhood, with whom he established a friendly intercourse; assuring them of the amicable disposition of the colonists, and receiving from them, apparently sincere professions of good will, in return; many of them

sending their sons to the colony, to be instructed in the English language, and the arts of civilized life.

But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, Mr. Ashmun thought he discovered symptoms of secret hostility, and therefore used every exertion to prepare the settlers for any attack that might be made upon them ; a precaution, which, the sequel proved to have been highly necessary ; for scarcely was the town, by constant labour, put in a tolerable state of defence, when the enmity of the natives broke out into open violence. Many of the chiefs had been dissatisfied with the permission given to the strangers to settle in their country, and their dissatisfaction had been increased, by the evidence already given by the colonists, of their opposition to the slave trade. These feelings had nearly impelled them to open hostility, after their repulse from the English vessel, in the spring. Matters, however, had then been arranged, and the presence of some vessels in the harbour, had prevented them from coming to an open rupture. But a favourable opportunity seemed at length to have arrived ; both the former agents had left the settlement, from fear, as they supposed ; the new agent was sick, the few settlers that remained, were in a destitute situation, and every thing seemed to invite an attack.

The first assault was made, by about eight hundred men, who were repulsed after a short conflict ; with the loss of four killed, and as many wounded on the part of the colonists. Two weeks afterwards, the natives made another attack, with about double their former numbers, and were again repulsed, with great loss, after a very severe engagement. By this second defeat, the spirit of the assailants was so completely broken, that they did not make another attempt upon the settlement ; and this exertion of the strength of the infant colony, though distressing in its immediate effects, had the beneficial result of inspiring the settlers with a confidence in their ability to maintain their position ; and impressing upon the natives a sense of inferiority, which has effectually prevented further molestation.

Since this period, the colony has been constantly improving, without any interruption, or impediment, other than those, necessarily incident to the progress of a new settlement, in such a situation. Soon after the restoration of tranquillity, Dr. Ayres arrived, with a re-enforcement of sixty-one new emigrants, and a supply of stores ; but after devoting himself with great assiduity to the promotion of the interest of the colony, he was obliged, by the state of his health, to leave it in the month of December, 1823, and resign the charge of its superintendence to Mr. Ashmun, who continued, until the time of his death, the principal colonial agent of the society.

Our limits do not permit us to give a detailed history of the

colony; nor is it necessary. Since the attack of the natives above mentioned, the settlers have enjoyed uninterrupted peace; and the incidents attending their gradual progress, though highly important to those immediately concerned, are not of a nature to interest persons at a distance. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most striking occurrences.

Although it may not, strictly speaking, be a part of the history of the settlement, we may mention here, that at the seventh annual meeting of the Society, held the 20th February, 1824, the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Monserado, was named *Liberia*; and the town laid out, and established at the Cape, *Monrovia*; "as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the illustrious chief magistrate of the United States."

What most attracts our notice, in the history of the colony, is the policy pursued toward the native tribes in its vicinity. In all his intercourse with them, the Agent (we speak of Mr. Ashmun, who had the principal management in these affairs,) endeavoured to cultivate their good will and affection, by maintaining the strictest justice in all his dealings, and showing them the advantages they may derive from the establishment of the colony. Like the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, he purchased from its natural owners, the territory he occupied, and not an acre of ground was taken without a fair equivalent. In the spring of 1825, it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the settlement. Several emigrants arrived about that time, who had been accustomed to agricultural life. Some of these requested permission to settle upon plantations at once, instead of being confined in the town; and as there was little danger to be apprehended from their removal to a short distance, the agent determined to grant their request; and immediately entered into a negotiation with the neighbouring tribes, for the purchase of the necessary land.

The tract selected for this purpose, is situated on the St. Paul's river, comprehending a breadth of from one to three leagues; and lying along the whole navigable part of the stream, estimated at about twenty miles. The whole was under the jurisdiction of old king Peter, from whom it was purchased; and formal possession was taken for the American Colonization Society.

The advantages of this acquisition of territory, are stated by the agent, to consist in enabling the settlers to live on their plantations, instead of being in town, at a distance from them, as before;—in giving them a much more fertile soil, and so enabling them to support themselves and families in a short time after their arrival in the country; in rendering the agricultural part of the settlement more compact, in securing the trade of the St. Paul's river,—and gaining a more salubrious situation; in all



which particulars, the agent's anticipations have been realized. Several important additions have been since made to the territory of the colony; and the Board, in their last report, mention, with approbation, the exertions of the agent in relation to this matter. The possessions of the Society, now extend nearly *one hundred and fifty miles* along the coast; and to a considerable distance into the interior. "No less than *eight stations* from Cape Mount to Trade Town, 140 miles, are now under the government of the colony, and four of these have been acquired during the last year." p. 43.

These "stations" are small settlements, established upon the newly purchased land, at the request of the neighbouring chiefs; who are very desirous of having the advantage of their trade; and generally agree to construct factories, and other necessary buildings for their accommodation. This extension of the settlement, and the intercourse with the natives, to which it gives rise, increase the influence of the colony; which, resulting as it does, from the integrity and kindness manifested toward them, may be expected to be permanent. They see the advantages of civilized life, and are desirous to partake of them. "No man of the least consideration in the country," says Mr. Ashmun, "will desist from his importunities, until one, at least, of his sons, is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship, and these, built on the fullest conviction that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other."

The influence thus acquired, is sacredly devoted to the security of the colony, and the benefit of the natives. The agent has always avoided having any thing to do with the disputes of his neighbours, further than to afford his friendly offices as mediator; and, on a late occasion, when two of the most considerable tribes were at war with each other, and each solicited the aid of the colony, with promises of territory and submission, Mr. Ashmun, having tried in vain to prevent hostilities, positively refused to take part with either; telling them, that "the whole force of the colony was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled;—that while they were ready to benefit *all* their neighbours, they would injure *none*; and that if they could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, they should never take part in them."

By the Constitution, "for the government of the African colony at Liberia," all persons born in the colony, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit, for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to govern themselves;—there shall be no slavery in the settlement; and the



common law, as in force, and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in Liberia. Under this Constitution, the agents, in August 1824, adopted a "plan for the civil government of Liberia," and framed a digest of laws, (which have since been approved and ratified by the Board,) for the permanent regulation of the colony. The principal provisions of the "plan of government," are, that the agent of the Society shall possess, in the settlement, sovereign power, subject only to the decisions of the Board;—that a vice-agent shall be appointed by the agent, out of three persons chosen by the colonists, who shall aid the agent in the discharge of his duties, and take his place, in case of his absence or sickness;—that the judiciary shall consist of the agent, and two justices of the peace, created by his appointment; the choice of other officers is made by the colonists, subject to the approbation or rejection of the agent; and standing committees, of agriculture—of public works—of the colonial militia—and of health, are appointed, whose duty it is "to become familiar with all the subjects relating to their appointments, and be ready, at all times, to meet, consult, and report thereon, when required to do so by the agent."

The common law being adopted, so far as suited to the circumstances of the colony, it was only necessary to enact laws, relating to the peculiar situation of the new settlement; regulating their intercourse with the native tribes in their vicinity, designating offences, and prescribing appropriate punishments. The punishments prescribed, are, fine, imprisonment, standing in the stocks, whipping, labour on the public works, forfeiture of rations, (to those receiving them,) and expulsion from the colony; which last, is the highest degree of punishment, and is inflicted "on conviction for offences directly affecting the peace and good government of the colony; and when ordered by the Society, for any misdemeanors in their judgment deserving that penalty. The property of exiles, to pass to their next heirs resident in the colony. In all cases of banishment, when the banished person has no heir in the colony, the land held by him shall revert to the colony. The party, in any judicial trial, is entitled, if he desire it, to trial by jury."

This system went into immediate operation, and is mentioned with approbation by the Board, in their ninth annual report. Two years afterwards, at the last annual meeting, the managers notice, in their report, the "very efficient and satisfactory manner" in which the system continues to operate, and quote from a letter of Mr. Ashmun, who says, "we commence the year with a better prospect of harmony, in the different operations of our little civil machine, than ever before. The principles of social order, and of a good, equable, and energetic government, are deep-

ly and plentifully implanted in the minds of the influential part, if not of a majority of the colonists, and promise the certain arrival, (I do not think it will be early, however,) of that state of improvement, when the Board can safely withdraw their agents, and leave the people to the government of themselves." p. 39.

The moral and religious character of the colony, is such as to be highly gratifying to its friends; and exerts a powerful and salutary influence on its social and civil condition. Owing to the circumstances under which the first expeditions were fitted out, the characters of the individuals composing them, were not sufficiently attended to; and many were found among them, who, by their bad conduct, did serious injury to the new settlement. But, for several years past, the Board, always having more applicants for emigration, than their means would enable them to transport, have been particular, in selecting such only as would form a desirable addition to the settlers; and the good effects of this system, are visible in the improved character of the colony. Most of the late emigrants, had established their reputation for industry, sobriety, and morality, in this country, and were distinguished for their respectability among those of their own station in society. They were induced to emigrate, by a laudable desire to improve their condition, by the acquisition of privileges they might in vain hope for here: and they went to Africa with a full knowledge of the difficulties they were to encounter. Their trial was a severe one; and, it is not strange, that some should have sunk under it; but, most of them sustained it unshaken; and the agent very justly attributes the general prosperity of the settlement, to the salutary influence of their conduct. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Hence, the general character of the colony is in the highest degree orderly—"crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect, manifested for the Sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, has struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners."

The agent was fully aware of the importance of education, and fostered it by every means in his power. Several schools have been established; in which the colonists, and about fifty native children, receive instruction. Their education is, of course, confined to the elementary branches of knowledge, but they show themselves very capable of learning; and, there is no doubt, that with proper advantages, they will attain all the useful, and even ornamental, departments of science. At present, they feel the want of teachers capable of instructing them in any thing beyond

the rudiments of learning. The library of the colony contains about 1200 volumes.

Since the late purchases of land, the colonists have begun to turn their attention more to agriculture; but, the trade of the colony, which is considerable, has been its chief dependence. By the treaties entered into with the natives, the greater part of the trade of that district of Africa, is secured to the inhabitants of Liberia. The articles of export are the productions of the country; consisting of rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye-woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee: there are almost always some vessels in the harbour; and "the bustle and thronging of the streets, show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States." By means of this commerce, many of the settlers have acquired a considerable property; and enjoy an abundance, not only of the necessities, but of the comforts, and even the luxuries of life. The intercourse between Monrovia and the other settlements in Liberia, is so considerable, that the net annual profits of a small schooner, employed by the agent for this purpose, amounted to 4700 dollars, "a sum nearly adequate to defray the expense of the whole organization for the public service, both for the United States' agency, and the colonial government." After speaking of the prospects of the colony, the agent says, "but I can even now assure the Board, that except a very few of the emigrants, the most independent and easy in their circumstances in America, they generally live in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching to elegance in many instances, unknown before their arrival in this country. An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known; and, an *individual*, of whatever sex or age, without ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, I believe, be found." And again—"every family, and nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars a month. And several of the settlers, when called upon, in consequence of sudden emergencies of public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

In their last report, the managers state that the population of the colony, (including emigrants by recent expeditions,) exceeds twelve hundred persons; of whom about five hundred were introduced during the last year. Of these, one hundred and forty-two recaptured Africans, liberated by a decree of the Supreme Court, and sent to the agency in Liberia, arrived in the ship Norfolk, on the 27th of August 1827. In a letter written seven days after their arrival, Mr. Ashmun says, "it may be interesting to the Board, as a proof of the extensive business and re-



sources of their colony, to observe, that not more than twenty remain, even at this early date, a charge to the United States. Two-thirds of the number have situations in the families of the older settlers, for terms of from one to three years; the remainder are at service, on wages to be paid them at the year's end," after which they were to have lands assigned them as other settlers. The report further states, (p. 38,) that "three new fortifications, and thirteen public buildings, exclusive of the churches, are either completed already, or so far advanced, as to authorize the expectation, that they will be finished in the course of the year." Some opinion may be formed of the enterprising spirit of the colonists, from the fact that they have already organized a company to improve the navigation of the Montserado river, by removing the bars which obstruct it, and some progress has been made in the work.

So far, then, the object of the Society has been accomplished, by establishing on the coast of Africa, a colony of "free people of colour," composed of several hundred individuals, enjoying perfect security, possessing abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, or the means of obtaining them, and in the full exercise of all the rights and privileges of freemen. That many difficulties have been encountered, and many lives lost, in the attainment of this object, is not to be denied; but when we consider the principles upon which this colony has been founded, and the circumstances under which the operations of the Society have been carried on, our wonder is, not that *so little*, but that *so much*, has been effected. In the language of the Society's Memorial to Congress: "In the course of a few short years, a small number of respectable individuals, actuated only by the most philanthropic motives, possessing no political power, and destitute of all pecuniary resources, except such as were to be found in the charity, the benevolence, and the patriotism of their fellow-citizens, have succeeded in exploring a distant coast, in overcoming, in a great measure, the very natural, but very powerful prejudices of the community in which they live, and in transplanting to the western shores of Africa, and maintaining in a state of perfect security, a colony of several hundred of the free coloured population of their country."

That the infant colony should have great difficulties to encounter, was to be expected. But they have been met and overcome; and the Society justly acknowledge the powerful aid of a gracious Providence, in the wonderful success which has attended their exertions. In no instance have such results been produced in so short a time, under similar disadvantages. The early settlements of our own country, which approach nearest in character to that of Liberia, were persevered in, under far more discouraging cir-



cumstances, and were only established after many years of incessant labour, and a great expenditure of life and treasure.

Two fruitless attempts were made to establish a colony in this country, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter for that purpose. The first party, consisting of one hundred and eight persons, landed on the island of Roanoke in 1585, but they were soon embroiled in hostilities with the natives, and, after enduring incredible hardships, they were found, in the following year, by Sir Francis Drake, reduced to the lowest state of distress, and, by him, at their earnest request, were carried back to England. In 1587, Raleigh sent out a greater number of colonists, with a more abundant supply of provisions; but, owing to the danger apprehended in England, from the threatened Spanish invasion, the colony was neglected; and, when in 1590, three ships were sent for their relief, "not a vestige of them was to be found." After a fruitless attempt to discover some traces of them, the whole squadron left the country, and returned to England. Sir Walter Raleigh, after having expended £40,000 in the enterprise, had already abandoned it in despair. "What was the particular fate of the colonists he had before sent and seated, has never been known—whether they were murdered, or incorporated with the savages."

The zeal for colonization was so much damped by these untoward events, that no further attempts were made, until the year 1606, when an expedition was fitted out, under the auspices of an association, formed for the establishment of colonies in America. On the 13th of May 1607, one hundred and five men were settled at the new colony, called, in honour of the king, "Jamestown;" and thus, twenty-two years after the first colony had been placed at Roanoke, laid the foundations of a mighty empire. But every thing was yet to be done. The colonists were exposed to every species of disaster, without any other principle, than the desire of wealth, to support them under their trials. Subjected at once to the accumulated evils of internal dissension, and external hostility, the privations of scarcity, and the diseases of the climate, they were, several times, reduced to the brink of ruin. "Before the month of September, fifty of the company were buried." On Captain Smith's return to Jamestown, after an absence of a few weeks, during which time he had been preserved from death, by the romantic generosity of Pocahontas, "*he found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, most of whom seemed determined to abandon a country which appeared to them so unfavourable to human life.*"

The execution of this design was prevented by the judicious conduct of Captain Smith; and the spirits of the colonists were revived, by the timely arrival of a re-enforcement of one hun-

dred and twenty persons, under the command of Captain Newport. Scarcely three months, however, had elapsed, before the colony was again in the utmost confusion and disorder. "Those who had arrived last with Newport, were all sick," and the most vigorous exertions of Captain Smith but just preserved the settlement from annihilation. The discovery of some glittering earth, which was mistaken by the colonists for gold dust, seemed to promise the reward of their sufferings, by giving them the great object of their desires; and, by means of this flattering prospect, and the most strenuous exertions on the part of the association, their number was increased in October 1609, to almost five hundred inhabitants. But the disappointment of their hopes of wealth, was succeeded by scenes of riot and insubordination. They were attacked by the Indians, their provisions were lavishly wasted, and the united evils of war, famine, and disease, in a few months reduced their number to "sixty persons, of all ages and sexes, who were so feeble and dejected, that they could not have survived ten days longer." This miserable remnant was found in this condition, by Captain Newport, who had actually taken them on board his squadron, and set sail for England, where they were met by Lord Delaware, who came out as governor of the new country. By him they were prevailed upon to return, and make another effort for the establishment of the colony.

For many years after this period, their history presents a series of incessant labours, and almost incredible distresses. Torn by internal feuds, in want of every necessary, and exposed to frequent attacks by the savages, the colony was several times almost extinct, and barely maintained a feeble existence, by the foreign supplies occasionally afforded; and, in the year 1624, after more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended, and more than nine thousand persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed eighteen hundred persons.\*

Such was the origin of the "Ancient Dominion," and the discouraging circumstances attending its first settlement. The "Pilgrims" encountered equal difficulties, though somewhat different in their character. While the business was confined to the Colonizing Association, their efforts were more feeble, and less successful, than those which were made in the South; and it was only the invincible resolution to secure religious freedom, that finally accomplished the undertaking. The first emigrants to New-England,

\* Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia," (page 163,) gives a table of the increase of the population, during the early years of the colony, commencing with 1607; by which it appears, that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 490, and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number, in 1618, (the eleventh year of the settlement,) was only 600.

about one hundred in number, arrived in the fall of 1607, and took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built a fort. Many of the company, and among them their principal men, died during the following winter. The sufferings of the survivors were so great, that it was determined to abandon the country; and, in the spring, they embarked on board vessels returning to England. So completely was the enterprise abandoned, that no further attempts were made at settlement, until the year 1620, when a small company of one hundred and twenty men, seeking refuge from religious persecution at home, and determined to endure every hardship, rather than forego the freedom of conscience, landed on the bleak shore of Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a new colony. They embarked on the 11th of November, and, before spring, one-half of their number had fallen victims to maladies induced by the severity of the climate, and the hardships to which they were exposed. Wasted by sickness and famine, and in constant apprehension of attack from the natives, they underwent the severest trials, with a fortitude and resolution, which nothing but the continued excitement of strong religious feeling could have inspired. This same feeling, as it produced a strict attention to moral conduct, preserved them from many of the evils which the southern emigrants suffered; but the barrenness of the soil conspired with other difficulties to retard their progress; so that, at the end of ten years, the entire population of the colony amounted to only three hundred souls. After this, they received large accessions to their number, from England; but "the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, the difference of their food, from that to which they had been accustomed, and the intense cold of the winter, against which they had not sufficient means of protection, were still severely felt by the colonists, and still continued to carry many of them to the grave." They persevered, however; and their descendants now glory in the piety, the fortitude, and the patriotism of the "pilgrims."

We have dwelt thus long on the early history of the settlements in America, because a comparison between them and the settlement at Liberia, shows that there is nothing at which the friends of African colonization should be disheartened. On the contrary, such a comparison holds out every encouragement: less expense has been incurred, fewer difficulties have been encountered, fewer lives sacrificed, and more has been effected. A colony has been established, which, *now, in its eighth year*, contains more than twelve hundred inhabitants, enjoying health, liberty, and plenty; and commanding the respect and confidence of their neighbours. The colony being established, the only question is, whether it can be maintained? And this we purpose briefly to consider.



The first and great difficulty lies in the supposed insalubrity of the climate, and the fatality which is generally attributed to it. But, the prevalent opinion on this subject, arises from prejudice, or want of reflection. We are apt to imagine, that, because the climate of Africa is different from that to which we have been accustomed, it must necessarily be unhealthy; but this is clearly erroneous; and, if generally acted upon, would prevent any change of residence. The climate of Liberia, like that of all other tropical situations, is exceedingly warm, and unfriendly to constitutions formed in more temperate regions. But it does not, therefore, follow, that it is unfitted to sustain human life, where there is a congeniality of constitution. Accordingly, we find that the natives of the country, are a robust, healthy race, subject to no epidemic disease; and, of the emigrants who have gone from this country, those from the southern states have suffered but little by the change of climate. Early last year, the brig Doris carried out a considerable number of emigrants from North Carolina, who arrived at Liberia in April, and, in noticing their sickness, in his communication to the Board, Mr. Ashmun observes, "all the change they have undergone, seems to be less a *disease*, than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of the tropical climate." It is true, many have died soon after their arrival; but, it was under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely again to occur. The first settlement, on the low marshy ground of the Sherbro, was unfortunate, and very properly abandoned. The early settlers at Montserado, arrived at an improper time of the year, and were exposed to all the inclemencies of the rainy season, without sufficient houses to protect them. Add to this, the excessive fatigue they underwent in preparing for their defence against the natives; and it is not wonderful that many fell victims to disease. But, since the erection of suitable houses, and the release from incessant labour, the general health of the colony has been good, and the emigrants who have arrived at proper seasons of the year, have been exposed to but little danger.

Dr. Peaco, who resided some time at Liberia, as United States' agent for recaptured Africans, says, in a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society,—“Persons of every description, from all parts of the world, are liable to an attack of bilious fever, shortly after their arrival; which I found, in every instance, to yield to the common remedies in the first attack; and, all the deaths which occurred, were from relapses, occasioned by imprudently exposing themselves, while in a state of convalescence; but few cases terminated fatally, from among those who left Norfolk last winter; and but one of the people of co-



lour, from North Carolina, who accompanied me out, fell a victim to the prevailing diseases of the climate."

In the month of September last, the colonists addressed a circular to the coloured people of this country, giving an interesting exposition of the state of the colony, and one highly gratifying to its patrons and friends. On the subject of health, they say:—

"The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in the cases of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency, which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony."

Another objection to the practicability of maintaining the colony, is founded on the supposed barrenness of the soil, and the consequent necessity of depending on foreign supplies for subsistence. The very name of Africa, is associated, in our imagination, with all that is desolate and frightful;—immense deserts of burning sand, whose dreadful masses, carried along by the whirlwind, overwhelm the parched traveller, and thus hasten the fate he would otherwise have suffered from thirst; and trackless wastes, inhabited only by beasts of prey, and venomous reptiles; with no water to refresh the sultry atmosphere, and no vegetation to relieve the dreary prospect. We are confirmed in this idea, by the common maps, which present to our view an immense continent, coloured, to denote occupancy, along the coast, but the interior, one vast blank, which we consider a desert; and, by our classic recollections, which remind us of the fate of Cambyzes' army, or the difficulties of Alexander's march to the shrine of his pretended father; and represent all beyond the northern coast, as "the uninhabitable regions." But the discoveries of modern travellers have proved the fallacy of these impressions. It is true, the desert of Zahara is a vast expanse of sand, where thousands have perished of fatigue and thirst; and the journals of scientific explorers, have furnished us with abundance of frightful pictures of its horrors. But this is only a part, and comparatively a small part, of the great continent of Africa. Beyond these sands, Africa furnishes a soil as fertile, and pro-

duces a vegetation as luxuriant, as any in the world. Its boundless forests, and beautiful fields, are watered by noble rivers, and abound in all the productions of tropical climates. Of this character is the territory of Liberia. "The whole country, between Cape Mount and Trade Town," observes Mr. Ashmun, "is rich in soil, and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population, beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the seaboard, the traveller, every where, at the distance of a few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure, which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found every where to yield, in both respects, to the interior." The vegetable productions of Liberia, are coffee, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, rice, Guinea-corn, millet, and every variety of fruits and *legumes*. Most of these are the spontaneous productions of the soil, and all of them may be cultivated with little labour. Coffee, of a good quality, grows wild in great abundance, and is collected and sold by the natives for about five cents a pound: with due attention, it will become a staple commodity for exportation. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive exceedingly well, and require "no other care than to keep them from straying." Even in the present state of the country, when but little attention has been bestowed upon agriculture, provisions can be purchased very cheap. "Fine cattle may be bought, at a little distance from the colony, at from three to six dollars a head; rice of the best quality, for less than a dollar the bushel; and palm oil, answering all the purposes of butter and lard, for culinary purposes, at twenty cents per gallon, equal in cookery to six pounds of butter." Add to all this, there is no dreary winter, "for one half the year to consume the productions of the other half."

Possessing thus, a good climate, and a fertile soil, there is nothing to impede the growth of the colony, even if it receive no further accession from this country. At peace with the natives, and capable of defending itself against any attacks they may make, it has nothing to apprehend from that quarter; and there is little danger of any foreign aggression. The climate, though perfectly salubrious to the natives, and to the coloured emigrants who are habituated to it, is ill-adapted to the constitution of the Circassian race of our species; and neither Europeans nor Americans have been able to become *acclimated* there; so that it would seem that Providence has specially appropriated this portion of the world to the original inhabitants, and their descendants. This circumstance will effectually prevent the danger that might other-

wise arise from European settlements in the neighbourhood. But its progress is not to be limited to the natural increase. Every year enlarges its capacity for receiving new emigrants with advantage, and renders their first settlement in the colony more safe and easy. It has been supposed by some, that persons cannot be found willing to go : but this is not the fact. There are hundreds desirous, and ready to emigrate ; and many more would be liberated for the purpose, were the Society possessed of the means of transporting them. Last year there was as great an accession of new settlers, as could be conveniently accommodated in the present circumstances of the colony. But as the settlements increase, so that the new comers may be distributed over a wider space, thousands can be as readily accommodated, as hundreds were last year, and any number may be received without inconvenience. Although the expense of transportation is not great, averaging about twenty-five dollars for each person, the funds of the Society have not enabled them to accomplish more than they have already done. But the cause is gaining ground in this country ; and is no longer considered as a mere chimera. The Society has advocates in every part of the Union ; and the prejudices formerly entertained against it, are gradually disappearing before the influence of facts. The legislatures of nine states\* have adopted resolutions, approving of the design of the Colonization Society ; and the General Assembly of Maryland, in the month of March 1827, passed an Act, directing the sum of one thousand dollars to be paid annually, to the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, to "be expended for the benefit of the free people of colour who have been actual residents of that state for twelve months previous to their embarkation." The number of auxiliary societies, in different parts of the Union, amounted, at the time of the last annual meeting, to ninety-six ; sixteen of which had been formed during the preceding year. A gentleman in the state of New-York, has made a donation of one hundred dollars to the Society, and offered to increase it to a thousand, payable in ten annual instalments, provided one hundred individuals will contribute in the same manner. His example has already been followed by several others, and the Society is not without hope that the whole number will be completed. The funds of the Society, though increasing, are still inadequate to meet the demands upon them : and the Board have applied to congress for assistance. As a national object, proposing to remove, or at least to alleviate a great national evil, it certainly deserves the attention of the General Government. Whe-

\* Georgia, Virginia, New-Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland. It is believed that the states of Delaware, Rhode Island, and Illinois, have adopted similar resolutions.



ther it would be politic in the government, or beneficial to the colony, to take the settlement under the immediate protection of the United States, may admit of some doubt ; but there can scarcely be a doubt of the propriety of employing a portion of the public treasure in the promotion of the views of the Society, if there is a fair prospect of success. Much has already been done by the establishment of the United States' agency at Liberia, and the instructions given to the commanders of the public vessels, who have rendered very essential service to the colony. Much more might be effected if the government would contribute to increase the funds of the Society.

It is the opinion of some, that the negro race can never be capable of conducting the affairs of empire. But, in forming our estimate of their mental qualifications, great allowance should be made for prejudice, and the circumstances in which we have seen them ;—without education, or any means of intellectual improvement. When raised from their present degraded condition, and properly educated, there is no reason to suppose that they will be incapable of self-government. They are men ; and it is a libel on the species, to deny them the capacity requisite to manage their own affairs. Not to mention the rude governments of Africa, equal, at least, to those of other people, at the same stage of civilization ; the existence of the Haytien republic furnishes an instance of the capacity of negroes to manage the political machine ; and that too, in circumstances of great difficulty, and under every disadvantage. Some of the leaders of that state, have evinced talents of no ordinary degree, and if Petion, and Christophe, were guilty of cruel and ferocious acts, they also exhibited energy and skill, fully adequate to maintain and defend their government. There is therefore no good reason to doubt, that, with proper education, the citizens of Liberia will in due time be perfectly competent to take care of themselves ; and that with the cultivation of their present moral and religious principles, they will establish a happy and flourishing commonwealth.

We purposed, in the last place, to consider the probable effects of the establishment of the colony ; and first, as it regards this country.

We shall not dwell upon the commercial advantage of having friendly ports for our vessels to stop at, on their way to and from India ; nor upon the still greater advantage of having a constantly increasing market for our manufactures of every description, from which we may receive in return, gold, ivory, precious and fragrant gums, drugs, and all the various productions of the torrid zone. These and similar ones, suggest themselves as the almost certain consequence of the success of the Liberian Colony. Nor is it a trifling political object to have our language, and the princi-



ples of our government, extended over a large territory in the continent of Africa, as will in all likelihood be the case, if the colony prosper. Less flattering prospects have induced the powers of Europe to found distant colonies, at great labour and expense; but these, although probable results, are not the primary objects of the settlement of Liberia.

The great object of the Society, so far as regards this country, is the diminution of the black population;—the alleviation, and, if possible, the entire removal of the curse of slavery, and the evil of having among us a distinct race of people, who can never be thoroughly amalgamated with the white population, and who must always have separate interests from ourselves. This is not a local disease, affecting only particular members of the political system: for, not to mention the intimate connexion of the different sections of our country, and the interest of all, to promote the welfare of each part, it must be obvious, on the slightest examination, that the evil of a coloured population pervades the whole, and is felt in each separate portion. We need not speak of the immediate effects of slavery in those states where it exists; they are acknowledged by all to be grievous; but, throughout the non-slave-holding states, the negroes form a distinct race, branded by their colour, as an inferior caste; regarded with a species of loathing when thought of as companions, and for ever shut out from the privileges of the white men by whom they are surrounded. Be it prejudice, or be it founded in reason, the feeling exists; and the warmest friend of the cause of abolition, would shrink with disgust from the idea of a matrimonial connexion between his children and this unfortunate people. No matter what may be their industry and sobriety; no matter what their attainments in science, or their character for morality, they can never hope to pass the broad line of demarcation, or assume a station of equality with the other members of the community. If by habits of industry, and correct deportment; a few individuals rise above their degraded brethren, their condition is scarcely improved. Conscious of their superiority to those of their own colour, by whom they are envied, they can find no satisfaction in their society; while they are shunned and despised by the meanest of the whites, perhaps far inferior to them, in every particular, save *colour*: and if they have brought up children, to whom they have given the benefit of education, there is little chance of their finding suitable companions among their own people. To unite them to respectable whites, is impossible. Thus destitute of all the advantages, while they possess the name of freemen; deprived of every incentive to virtuous exertion, and exposed to every temptation to vice, it is no wonder that they are degraded and miserable. Nor does the future offer any prospect of amendment in their condition. To them the volume of

time, like the roll of the prophet, reveals only "lamentations, and mourning, and wo."

The natural consequence of this deplorable state of things, is seen and felt in our large cities, and, in a degree, throughout the country. We have an idle, ignorant, vicious population, crowded together in their wretched hovels, with scarcely the means of procuring a scanty subsistence. Naturally improvident, and without moral restraint, they are driven to crime to satisfy the cravings of want, and readily become the tenants of the almshouse, or the jail. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and presented to the legislature of that state, at their last session, it is stated, that, of the whole population of Pennsylvania, which is estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000, or one-thirtieth, are people of colour: and the following statement, taken from the records of the state penitentiary, is then given:—

"In 1826, of 296 persons convicted, and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured; being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the state, there would have been but 6, instead of 117. The average of the last seven years, proves a similar disproportion."

The proportion of coloured paupers, maintained at the public expense, is also enormous. Nor is this state of things confined to Pennsylvania: it is found in all the states, though perhaps not always to the same extent; but wherever there is a black population, this evil exists in some degree, and is constantly increasing. Without entering into the calculations on this subject, for which we refer those desirous of seeing them, to the annual reports of the Society, and the statements annexed to them, we may state some of the general results. The whole coloured population of the United States, is estimated at about 2,000,000, and they are supposed to increase in nearly the same ratio as the whites, or to double in thirty years. In thirty years from this time, then, there will be 4,000,000 of negroes in the country; and, in sixty years, 8,000,000! A nation of eight millions of degraded, despised, oppressed beings! And to this accelerated progress, there is no limit. The barbarous scheme of Pharaoh, if practicable, would alone retard it. But, from this, our feelings as men, and as Christians, revolt with horror. What then is to be done? We would fain indulge the hope, that this dreadful curse will one day be removed; and that, when we speak of the millions who inhabit our land, we may add with pride, *they are all freemen*. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves, we see no human means by which this can be accomplished, unless it be by colonization; and, if ever the work is to be commenced, it cannot be done under more favourable auspices than at the present period. It is, at least, worth the expe-

riment; and now is the best time for making it. The American Colonization Society have undertaken to lead the way; they have founded a colony on the coast of Africa; and it only requires the encouragement of an enlightened country, to give the plan a fair trial. If it succeed, the benefit to our country will be incalculable; if it fail, the pious and patriotic men who have made the attempt, have done their duty; and we must submit, with resignation, to the unavoidable calamity. But there is yet hope; and while any thing remains untried, no effort should be spared. It is true, the work is immense, and the means of the Society are small—confessedly inadequate to the accomplishment of the project. But the Society never pretended to be able to carry through this great enterprise. They have acted only as pioneers in the work. All they could expect to do, was “merely to pave the way, to point out the track,” and call upon the nation to follow.

Even with the assistance of government, there are many difficulties; and the final attainment of the object must be remote: but the difficulties are not insuperable; and the remoteness of the desirable event should be no objection. It is to be recollected, that this matter affects the vital interest of the republic; and, if a century or more is required to complete it, this time, in the age of a nation, is soon passed. Individuals commence works which they can scarcely expect to see finished; and surely, a great national undertaking is not to be left unattempted, because the present generation may not witness its completion. But the benefits of colonization are not to be referred to a remote period; they commence immediately—they are already felt; and every year, as it extends the operation of the plan, will increase its beneficial effects, and facilitate its final accomplishment. Each state, like Maryland, may take advantage of this measure, and remove the coloured population within its own borders; and those states which have heretofore been obliged to forbid emancipation, will have no longer cause for apprehension, when the slave can be removed as soon as he is liberated. Many gentlemen of the South, have expressed their willingness to emancipate their slaves, if the Society would take charge of them; and this feeling will, no doubt, increase, if adequate means for its exercise be afforded. In some of the states, the education of slaves is forbidden by law; and, in most of them, the advantages of instruction are in a great measure withheld from the people of colour. In their present situation, this may be necessary; but if the means of their removal from the country were provided, their education might be encouraged with safety, in the assurance, that the more enlightened they become, the more desirous they will be to embrace this opportunity of improving their condition. Many of the better class of our colour-



ed population, still regard the colony with suspicion, and distrust the benevolent intentions of its founders; but, when they know that there is a nation of their brethren on the coast of Africa, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom and rational equality, their prejudices will yield to conviction, and they will be glad to enrol themselves among the citizens of Liberia. Instead of being looked upon, as it now is, by too many, as a receptacle of slaves, and discontented free negroes, it will be regarded in its true light, as the appropriate home of the coloured man,—the only place where he may employ his faculties to their full extent, and assert the dignity of his nature, as a man, and a free-man. The number of emigrants to this country, from Great Britain and Ireland, during the year 1827, was twenty-three thousand; and the number this year, will probably be as great, or greater. If such multitudes leave their homes, and come to a foreign land to procure employment and support, the same motives, with all the additional reasons the peculiarity of their situation suggests, will induce the coloured people of this country to emigrate to Africa, when assured, that, by so doing, they will certainly improve their condition. The annual increase of our whole coloured population, is estimated at 52,000; to remove any portion of this would be an advantage: to remove the whole, would prevent the growth of the evil; and every thing beyond this, would tend to its eradication.

Such are some of the motives which may induce the patriot to further the views of the Colonization Society; the philanthropist and the Christian will find ample room for the exercise of their benevolence, in the blessings to be conferred upon the emigrants, and upon the continent of Africa. As to the emigrants, it is only necessary to compare their miserable state here, with their situation in Africa, to be sensible of the great improvement of their condition. In the circular from which we have already quoted, and to which, as published in the appendix of the eleventh annual report, we refer our readers, the colonists, after stating the object of their emigration to be the enjoyment of real liberty, say:—

“Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions, have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. \* \* \* \* Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal, we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part,—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of the foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that



repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God, and our American patrons, for the happy change which has taken place in our situation."

And again, after enumerating the advantages they possess :—

"Truly we have a goodly heritage : and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country : it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But, from these evils, we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his Providence to this shore."

But we hasten to make a few observations upon the benefits likely to accrue to Africa, generally, from the establishment of this colony on its shores. In doing this, we pass by many important particulars ; such as the exploration of the country—the introduction of our manufactures, &c., and confine our attention to the probable effect of the colony in abolishing the slave trade, and civilizing the native tribes.

To suppress the slave trade, has been for many years an object of national policy with several governments, both in Europe and America. It has been interdicted by solemn treaties, and proscribed by the laws of individual states. The most despotic, and the most democratic governments, have joined in denouncing it. Austria and Colombia have proclaimed "universal emancipation ;" while Great Britain and the United States have exerted their naval force in attempting the extermination of this infamous trade. But still it exists ; and not only exists, but flourishes nearly as much as ever. The reports of the African Institution, present a detailed list of the names of two hundred and eighteen vessels, believed to be engaged in this trade, in the year 1824 ; and the number of its victims in that year, was ascertained to be not less than *one hundred and twenty thousand* ; of whom, about twenty thousand perished on the middle passage, or soon after their arrival at the port of their destination. "More than twenty thousand reached in that year the single port of Rio Janeiro."\* We attempt no description of this inhuman traffic. The barbarous cruelties which attend every step of its progress, from its commencement in treacherous wiles to entrap its victims, to its consummation, by consigning them to endless and hopeless slavery, have been too often, and too faithfully delineated, to need repetition here. But, supposing every one to concur in the propriety of its suppression, we assert, without hesitation, that colonization upon the coast of Africa, affords the only pros-

\* It appears by an official document, received from Rio de Janeiro, that the following importations of slaves were made into that port, in 1826 and 1827.—

1826,	landed alive,	35,966—died on passage,	1985.
1827,	do. do.	41,388—ditto ditto,	1643.

pect of success in this benevolent enterprise. This trade, which has been confirmed by the practice of centuries, and is supported by its ministering to so many powerful passions of our nature, is not to be put down by force, so long as a place can be found for the supply or reception of slaves. In vain may the governments of distant nations proscribe it by their treaties, or declare it piracy by their laws. In vain may they line Africa with their ships, and establish "mixed commissions," for the trial and punishment of offenders. Rapacity and avarice will still find means to elude the vigilance, or baffle the efforts of benevolence; and the friends of humanity must mourn over the inefficacy of their exertions. This is the lesson of experience on the subject, when, after years of unavailing effort, the evil rages with unabated violence.

In this state of affairs, we look on Colonization as the only expedient by which the object may be effected. Its operation is two-fold,—*direct*,—by occupying the coast and so cutting off access to the source of the polluted stream;—and *indirect*, by convincing the natives of the criminal nature of the trade, and turning their attention to other means of gain. The plan adopted by the regular slave traders, for obtaining their cargoes, is, to have agents, residing at different parts of the country, who procure the required number of slaves, and collect them at certain stations or factories, generally in some river or secluded inlet from the sea; in the mean time, the slaver hovers about the coast, avoiding the cruisers stationed there, or showing an empty vessel when boarded; until she can find a favourable opportunity of running in, taking her living cargo on board, and escaping, perhaps in the course of a single night; so that the utmost vigilance may be evaded. The immediate effect of the occupation of the coast, in destroying this practice, must of course be confined to the space within the jurisdiction of the colony: and so far as this extends, its salutary operation is already sensible. Not many years ago, there were several of these slave stations within a few miles of Cape Montserado; at which the trade was actively prosecuted; but since the establishment of the colony, they have been completely broken up. Every exertion for this purpose is made by the colonial government; and, in 1826, they could say "the line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, is now under British protection; and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, (the Liberian coast,) a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, the slave trade cannot be prosecuted with the least hope of success. Many of the tribes are really disposed to abandon it, and all perceive the hazard with which, in future, it must be attended."

But the most effectual method of putting an end to this traffic, is by bringing it into discredit among the natives themselves;

and this can be effected only by means of a colony. For centuries, these wretched beings have been accustomed to look upon this trade as the only means of securing a supply of foreign articles. Wars have been fomented, and villages depopulated, to furnish its victims; and they have found it far easier to make their purchases from the strangers, in a way that would at the same time gratify their malignant passions, than by the products of regular industry. Now, in order to draw them off from this detestable occupation, it is necessary to inspire them with an abhorrence of it; to convince them that their real interest is opposed to it; and to turn their attention to other means of profitable intercourse with foreigners. Their country is rich in natural productions of every kind; and but moderate labour is requisite, to supply them with the staples of a gainful commerce. But this change cannot be effected without the constant inculcation of better principles; and a regular market for their produce, such as an extensive settlement among them alone can afford: the reports from the colony, encourage the hope that much has already been done in this way, and still greater results may be expected. Several of the tribes, in the neighbourhood of the settlement, have expressed their conviction that the slave trade is a "*bad business*;" and their determination not to engage in it again, if they can avoid it; and the chiefs have invited the colonists to settle among them, and teach their people the arts of agriculture. All these things have an effect; but if ever the work be finally accomplished, it must be by the introduction of civilization and true religion into this degraded country.

The obligation to extend the benefits of civilization and religion to heathen countries, is one of those called by moral philosophers, *imperfect*, inasmuch as they can be enforced by no human authority; but they are not, on that account, the less valid, or the less binding upon the conscience. They are, however, always addressed to the reason only, and every one must judge for himself how far he is subject to their force. If any country has claims of this kind upon Christendom generally, and our land in particular, it is Africa. Her fields have been laid waste, and her inhabitants brutalized, to feed the market with slaves; and almost every nation has partaken directly or indirectly in the cruel traffic. Our own country has shared largely in the spoil; and, though we now regret the part we have had in it, an atonement is still due to injured Africa; and, if her oppressed children and their descendants are made, through our means, the instruments of her civilization, it will be a late, but glorious recompense for all her sufferings. But Christian benevolence needs no such motives for exertion. It is sufficient, if there be a field of action, with the hope of usefulness, to call forth her energies, and none presents a better scene for benevolent operations, than the coast of Africa,



through the medium of the colony of Liberia. The character of the natives is represented by travellers, as naturally mild and docile, though their intercourse with foreigners, engaged in the slave trade, has given them some features of savage ferocity. The scattered remains of villages, and marks of former cultivation, bear testimony to their primitive disposition, and prove that they were not always the degraded people they now are. There is reason to believe, that, before the introduction of the slave trade, and its consequent evils, they were a mild and inoffensive race; and the researches of modern travellers have shown this to be the character of the tribes beyond the sphere of its baneful influence. The religious notions of these people, are of the grossest kind. With scarcely a glimmering idea of a Supreme Being, and but a faint sense of moral obligation, they are subject to the darkest superstition. They believe in the conflicting influences of an evil and a good principle, and have great confidence in charms, or *fetiches*, prepared by their magicians, and supposed to hold a mysterious influence over their destiny. But there are no settled religious principles, no established forms of worship, to which they have become habituated, or attached. There is, therefore, no obstacle of this kind to overcome; and the introduction of the Christian religion would probably meet with fewer difficulties, than in almost any other uncivilized nation. They readily yield to a new impulse, and, degraded as they are, they manifest a sense of the importance of education. Many of the chiefs have sent their sons to the West Indies, and to England, for instruction; and, since the establishment of colonies upon their coast, they have been very desirous to obtain for their children admission into the colonial schools. Upon such a people, a colony, founded on the principles of that of Liberia, must necessarily have a beneficial influence. They see the colonists living in comfortable habitations, secure from external violence, and enjoying the pleasures of social life; and the superiority of this condition to their own, must be obvious to the dullest comprehension. They see, too, that all this may be attained by a race of men like themselves; and they learn to attribute the difference, not to the colour of their skin, but to its real cause,—an improved moral and religious education. In the language of Mr. Clay: “Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.” One great reason why missionary exertions are so often unavailing, is, that the instructor is a stranger to those whom he is sent to teach,—unacquainted with their manners and habits;—an individual, lost in the surrounding multitude. But here is a whole people, settled among them, teaching them by example, as well as by precept; their own condition, a living testimony to the soundness of the lessons they inculcate. Nor let it be supposed that the civilization



of a barbarous people is impracticable. It has often been effected, and always by the operation of extrinsic causes. History furnishes not a single instance of a barbarous people becoming civilized by their own unaided exertions; the first seeds of civilization have always been introduced from abroad. And thus it must be with Africa: if ever that vast continent is to experience the blessings of civilization, it must be through the medium of foreign benevolence. The tendency of the colony to produce these effects, may be seen from the following extract from one of Mr. Ashmun's reports to the Board:—

"The first effects of the colony, in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized.

"The policy which I have invariably pursued, in all the intercourse of the colony with them, is that of humanity, benevolence, and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them, in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country is to *do them good*. We have adopted sixty of their children, and brought them forward as children of the colony,—and shown a tender concern for their happiness, and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct, a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time appear to be apprized of the fact, that, among civilized people, there is a good, as well as a bad class. They have learnt from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits, at last, the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare at this early period risk my character by asserting. We have their confidence and their friendship,—and those built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other."

It is with unfeigned regret, that we record the death of the agent to whom the colony is so deeply indebted, and the last seven years of whose life, were unreservedly devoted to the promotion of its welfare. He died at New-Haven, Connecticut, on the 25th August last, soon after his arrival from Liberia; which he had left in the spring, with the intention of returning, as soon as his health would permit. His loss will be sincerely mourned by the colonists, who were all ardently attached to him: and our best wish for Liberia, is, that his mantle may fall upon his successor.

Dr. Richard Randall, of the city of Washington, appointed by the Board to succeed Mr. Ashmun, and also commissioned by the president, as United States' Agent, to take charge of recaptured Africans, sailed, last month, in the United States' schooner Shark, to assume the station of Resident Colonial Agent.

We have thus attempted to sketch the history of the Colonization Society, and give a general idea of its objects and effects.

These require only to be known, to be approved; and however people may differ as to the practicability of the plan, all must join in admiring the principles on which it is founded. One thing seems very certain: that the evil of a coloured population is constantly increasing, and that if ever it is to be removed, or even checked in its progress, it must be by means of colonization. As to Africa itself, there is strong ground for the hope, that, if the present colony be persevered in, the blessings of religion and civilization may be introduced there, without the extermination of the natives, as in the case of the aborigines of this country. The cases are very different. The European settlers of this country were a race wholly different from the natives, in constitution and complexion, as well as in language and manners. They could never amalgamate; and every year has witnessed the diminution of the Indians, before the progress of civilization. Not so in Africa. There the aborigines of the country are of the same race with the new settlers, who are, in fact, merely returning to the land of their fathers;—their complexion the same, and their constitution immediately assimilating. The native tribes, (not wandering savages, but already settled in villages,) naturally docile, will soon perceive the importance of the blessings offered to them, and easily adopt the habits, and the manners, with the principles of civilized life.

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#### ART. VII.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

- 1.—*Du Magnétisme animal, considéré dans ses rapports avec diverses branches de la Physique générale.* Par A. M. J. DE CHASTENET, *Ms. de Puységur.* Paris: 1820. pp. 472. 8vo.
- 2.—*Histoire critique du Magnétisme animal.* Par J. P. F. DELEUZE. Paris: 1819. 2 tomes. 8vo.
- 3.—*Instruction pratique sur le Magnétisme animal.* Par J. P. F. DELEUZE. Paris: 1825. pp. 472. 8vo.
- 4.—*Du Magnétisme animal en France, &c.* Par A. BERTRAND. Paris: 1826. pp. 539. 8vo.
- 5.—*Expériences publiques sur le Magnétisme animal, faites à l'hôtel Dieu de Paris, &c.* Par J. DUPOTET. Paris: 1826. pp. 136. 8vo.
- 6.—*Le Propagateur du Magnétisme animal.* Par une Société de Médecins. Paris: 1827–8. 5 Nos.

WE are induced to notice the works, the titles of which we have just given, from the mania that has lately been revived on

the continent of Europe, and particularly in France, in favour of that most philosophical of all impostures, *Animal Magnetism*. This subject, after having languished for many years, has again attracted much attention, and claims among its votaries many distinguished characters. But this affords no proof of its correctness, or practical utility; for, no theory that has ever been created by the fertile brain of man, that has not had its enthusiastic supporters; no doctrine, however absurd, that has not found advocates and defenders, who were willing to risk both life and fortune in its furtherance. History teems with instances of these extraordinary delusions, from the earliest ages, down to the present era of the "march of intellect and universal diffusion of knowledge." Man is naturally a credulous animal, with an appetite for the marvellous too strongly implanted in his nature, to be wholly eradicated; education, it is true, may weaken this propensity, but can never entirely destroy it.

From the first dawn of learning, philosophers and metaphysicians have endeavoured to investigate human nature and its attributes; and, although the inquiry has been pursued with unremitting zeal, but few satisfactory results have been obtained. If dealing in positive assertions, wholly destitute of even the shadow of a proof, and, in many cases, without the slightest knowledge of the subject on which they so dogmatically decide, would have settled this intricate question, we should not be now wandering in a labyrinth of doubt and perplexity. Unfortunately, the question remains in much the same state it was thousands of years ago; and it appears probable that it will continue so, unless some bold spirit should arrive at the truth, like the Genoese navigator, by a new and untrodden path.

One of the great difficulties which presented itself at the very outset of the investigation, was, what should be considered as man's distinctive character; and in vain have philosophers racked their brains, to discover some point on which he totally differed from the rest of animated nature. This failure is the more extraordinary, as there certainly does exist, in the whole human race, one striking and peculiar attribute bestowed on us from the first moment of our existence, which "grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength," clinging to us with increasing pertinacity, till it is destroyed by that elucidator of all mysteries, death.

This character is credulity; and it exists equally in men of the highest degree of civilization, and in the most untutored savage; in the skeptic and the believer; in the poet and the warrior; Bacon acknowledged its existence, and the stern mind of Johnson bent beneath its influence; in our own days, even Napoleon, the destroyer and overthrower of ancient monarchies, and the subverter of long-established prejudices, was a believer in desti-

ny, and mingled a reliance on the influence of his peculiar star, with his mighty projects of reform and universal sway.

In no department of human knowledge, has this propensity for the marvellous been more fully developed, than in medicine. From the moment man turned his attention to the relief and cure of diseases, not content with the means so amply bestowed on him by nature, he boldly sought to obtain a knowledge of the hidden principles of life, and hoped to accomplish the desired end, by chemical transmutations, or vainly attempting to read his fate in the aspect of the heavens. This latter folly arose to such a height, that, at the birth of every individual, a certain star was supposed to preside, and, according as this was propitious or malignant, so would be his degree of happiness or misery.

The most prolific epoch in new and extravagant speculations of this nature, was during that mental twilight which pervaded all Europe in the middle ages, when superstition and credulity exercised an almost unlimited sway. Then arose those extraordinary delusions of fancy, and were developed those fearful dreams of witchcraft and sympathies, of the philosopher's stone, and universal medicine, which so long misled the minds of the learned. These are far from being forgotten, and are daily re-appearing, under forms better adapted to the spirit of the times. For, although we loudly boast of our discoveries in science, and our rapid progress in knowledge, we are obliged to confess,—so far are we from being freed from the influence of these impostures,—that they still pervade every division of learning, and every rank of life.

Astrology, it is true, has long been consigned to that oblivion and contempt it so richly merited; and the noble science of witchcraft is nearly at an end. Our houses are rarely disturbed by unaccountable noises as in days of yore; children do not vomit crooked pins and rusty ten-penny nails; and old women may now keep black cats and ride broomsticks to the midnight levees of his satanic majesty, without danger of being subjected to those approved and delicate tests of their compact with evil spirits, so liberally resorted to in the olden time, when it was fully proven, that a real witch was either incombustible, or possessed a less specific gravity than water.

A belief in these arts, is now justly considered as superstitious and childish; but notwithstanding the increase of knowledge which has dispelled these errors, we are still inundated with other quackeries full as mischievous and degrading. Scarcely has one delusion been destroyed, when others spring forth like the heads of the fabled hydra. How many persons are there, and those among the educated and well informed, who still give implicit credence to the most absurd superstitions; whom the breaking of a looking-glass, or seeing the new moon over their left



shoulder, would render unhappy, and who would on no account begin a journey, or undertake new business, on a Friday. These, and a thousand other omens and signs are believed by a majority of mankind, and though each may laugh at their neighbour's credulity, they still treasure up a pet superstition of their own. Although the idea of the philosopher's stone is now scoffed at, a firm reliance is placed on the virtues of some universal medicine; and panacea after panacea is produced and indiscriminately used with the same result as formerly—that of filling the pockets of the projector. But it would be an endless task to enumerate the schemes of fraud and imposture which hourly make their appearance, and enlist crowds of votaries in their favour.

A belief in *animal magnetism*, may be traced back to a very early period. The ancients admitted the existence of a fluid or agent, which pervaded the whole universe, and was the cause of life and motion. According to this doctrine, the soul of man was a portion of this universal spirit, which, on his death, became freed, and entered into other combinations. Fenelon, in his *Telemachus*, has alluded to this theory in a happy and beautiful manner. “L’ame universelle est un vaste ocean de lumière ; nos ames sont autant de petits ruisseaux qui y prennent leur source et retournent s’y perdre.”

The same idea is found among the nations of the east, but in a still more extended form; according to Sir Wm. Jones, the Brahmins believe, that not only the souls of men, but also all that exists in the world, are an immediate emanation from Brahma, not merely created by his power, but an absolute diffusion of himself, so that to use the quaint explanation of Bernier, “he created the world as a spider produces a web, which it draws from its own bowels, and can again resume at will.”

When the nations of Europe began to turn their attention from the scenes of confusion and bloodshed in which they had been involved, after the division and destruction of the Roman empire, to the pursuits of science and learning, they necessarily adopted many of the speculations of the ancients ; and although the spirit of Christianity did not permit them to carry their ideas of this universal soul to such an extravagant height, and to consider it as a part of the Deity, still some were firm believers in it. The only writer of consequence who supported the doctrine to its full extent, was Spinoza, in the seventeenth century.

The system of the world, generally followed by the philosophers of the dark ages, was highly imaginative and poetic. They supposed that the empyrean embraced the whole of the stars and constellations, and was the primary source of vitality and animation: that every object possessed life, but in different degrees, and that all were parts of one great whole, connected by this universal vitality. All properties of the earth and its parts

were but emanations from the stars. The only thing that was not in direct subjection to the laws of the universe, was the soul of man, but even this acted in harmony with them ; and although uninfluenced by the constellations, yet they ruled his mortal part, and gave rise to his happiness or misery.

In pursuing their investigations, connected with this wild but beautiful theory, the wonderful properties of the magnet, soon attracted the attention of the learned, and all the characters of the universal fluid were thought to be concentrated in it ;—it appeared to unite every quality that had been attributed to this agent, and in fact to be a condensation of all the wonders of nature ; its principle of action was unknown, and therefore must have emanated from the stars ; and as it always turned to the north, the polar star was the great origin of its powers. Magnetism, and the all pervading fluid or soul, were now thought to be identical, and every action of nature was supposed to be the immediate result of its influence.

Wirdig\* thus expresses himself on the subject—"Universa natura magnetica est ; totus mundus constat et positus est in magnetismo, omnes sublunarium vicissitudines fiunt per magnetismum, vita conservatur magnetismo, interitus omnium rerum fiunt per magnetismum ;" and he only gives the generally received opinions of the time at which he wrote.

Having this universality and all powerful influence, every event was of course referred to its powers, more particularly those which arose from the reciprocal action of one living being on another ; such as the fascination produced by certain birds over their prey, the fatal charming of these again, by serpents, and the instantaneous destruction of man himself from the glance of a basilisk.

To the effects of magnetism were also referred all those sympathies and antipathies so generally observable in nature ; and as this fluid was the bond of union and harmony between different bodies, it was also believed to exist in full force between their parts, should these be even separated. Hence arose a reliance on the curative powers of sympathetic medicaments and powders, which, being applied to the instrument that had caused a wound, or to any article imbrued with the blood, would cure the injury, certainly and expeditiously, even where the operation was performed at a great distance from the patient. The celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby was a strenuous advocate for this practice, and has given several marvellous instances of cures thus performed, some of which fell under his own notice. One of these so fully exemplifies the mode of operating, that we do not think it right to pass it over. One of his friends, in endeavour-

\* *Medicina spirituum.*

ing to part two gentlemen who were fighting, was, unfortunately, severely wounded in the hand ; this accident put an immediate end to the duel, and both the antagonists endeavoured to succour him. To put a stop to the effusion of blood, they bound up his hand with one of his garters :—

“It was my chance,” says Sir Kenelm, for he relates the story himself, “to be lodged hard by him, and four or five days after, he came to my house, and prayed me to view his wounds. I told him I would willingly serve him. But if happily he knew the manner how I would cure him, without touching or seeing him, it may be he would not expose himself to my manner of curing, because he would think it, peradventure, either ineffectual or superstitious. He replied, the wonderful things related of your way of medicinement, makes me nothing doubt of its efficacy. I asked him then, for any thing that had the blood upon it ; so he presently sent for his garter, wherewith his hand was first bound ; and, as I called for a basin of water, as if I would wash my hands, I took a handful of vitriol and dissolved it. As soon as the bloody garter was brought me, I put it in the basin, on which he suddenly started, as if he had found some strange alteration in himself ; I asked him what he ailed ? I know not what ails me, but I find I feel no more pain ; methinks a pleasing kind of freshnesse, as it were a cold napkin, did spread over my hand, which hath taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I then replied, since then that you feel already so good effect of my medicament, I advise you to cast away all your plaisters, only keep the wound clean, and in a moderate temper, betwixt heat and cold. To be brief, there was no sense of pain afterward ; but, within five or six dayes, the wounds were cicatrized, and entirely healed.”

Sir Kenelm communicated his secret to that inveterate eschewer of all witches, King James I., and declared he had obtained it from a Carmelite friar, who learned it in Armenia or Persia.

But, notwithstanding the great success this learned practitioner met with, it appears that he was not fully initiated into the whole art and mystery. Van Helmont was also a disciple of this school of surgery, and wrote a treatise on the magnetic treatment of wounds. The great remedy in these cases was not mere vitriol, but an ointment, composed of the moss or mould which had grown on a human skull, mixed with fat : with this preparation, called *unguentum armarium*, the instrument that inflicted the wound was to be rubbed, but some important precautions were to be observed ; for, if the sword, or other weapon, were stroked upwards, the patient would feel no pain ; whereas, if this process were performed the contrary way, the wounded party would feel intolerable anguish. Walter Scott alludes to the use of this preparation, in his Lay of the Last Minstrel :—

“But she hath ta'en the broken lance,  
And washed from it the clotted gore,  
And salved the splinter o'er and o'er.  
William of Deloraine in trance,  
Whene'er she turned it round and round,  
Twisted as if she galled his wound.”

Dryden, in the Enchanted Island, also introduces this mode of healing, with some important particulars ; it appears, from his account, that the instrument should be kept from the action of the air.



In act V. sc. 4, Miranda enters with Hippolito's sword.

*Hip.* O my wound pains me. (*She unwraps the sword.*)

*Mir.* I am come to ease you.

*Hip.* Alas I feel the cold air come to me,

My wound shoots worse than ever.

*Mir.* Does it still grieve you? (*She wipes and anoints the sword.*)

*Hip.* Now, methinks, there's something laid just upon it.

*Mir.* Do you find no ease?

*Hip.* Yes, yes, upon the sudden all the pain is leaving me,  
Sweet heaven, how I am eased.

It is really astonishing, that men of observation and talents, should have been adherents of such glaring absurdities; but that many of the alleged cures really occurred, there can be no doubt; and a simple explanation may be given, why these preparations so long enjoyed the confidence of the public. One of the directions for their use, was, that the wounds should be constantly cleansed with tepid water, and kept from the influence of the air; by thus being in a great measure left to the curative powers of nature, and the instruments that inflicted them salved, they were much more likely to heal, than under the barbarous treatment with hot irons and irritating balsams, then in vogue.

But the power of magnetic sympathy extended even further than the mere curing of wounds. It is a notorious fact, that if an image be made of wax, in the exact resemblance of a person, any injury done to this, would be felt by the individual. "Niderus speaketh of one Æniponte, a most notorious witch, who, by making a picture of wax, and pricking it with needles in various parts, and then burying it under the threshold of her neighbour's house, whom she much hated, she was tormented with such grievous and insufferable prickings in her flesh, as if so many needles had been then sticking in her body. But the image being found and burned, she was instantly restored to her former health and strength."\*

By means of this subtle and omnipresent fluid, persons could converse at any distance. This mode of communication, which is certainly by far superior to any modern telegraph, was very simple, and only consisted in slicing off a morsel of flesh from the arms of those who wished to possess this power, and applying that taken from one, to the arm of the other; on these pieces, which soon became incorporated with the individual, the alphabet was to be traced, and when one of the persons, thus prepared, touched any letter with a sharp-pointed iron, the other was apprized of it, by a sensation of pain, at the spot corresponding to the designated letter.

Grafts of flesh thus united to another body, also experienced the effect of the magnetic fluid in another manner. For when the individual died, from whose body they were taken, they al-

\* Heyward's Angelicall Hierarchie.



so suffered the same fate. This was exemplified, in a man at Brussels, who had an artificial nose, made after the Talicottian method; it served every useful purpose, until, unfortunately, the person from whom it was derived happened to die, when it suddenly became cold and livid, and finally fell off.\* We have lately had the same idea revived, as regards grafted trees. It is said, that all the chestnut trees in the Island of St. Helena, were suddenly blighted and destroyed; on investigation as to the cause, it was found that they had been derived from grafts taken from a tree on the continent of Africa, which, having been struck with lightning, was killed at the moment its progeny were perceived to wither.

To this all-powerful cause, may also be referred the present improved method of curing warts and corns. This deserves to be universally known; for, although the professors of the art are not quite in unison as to the precise means to be employed, some preferring a scrap of raw beef, and others a piece of apple, still, there can be no doubt as to the efficacy of this plan of removing these obstinate excrescences. The most approved mode, with either of these substances, consists in rubbing the affected part with it, but unknown to any individual; and then burying it in some spot that is often walked over. As the apple or meat decays, so does the wart diminish and disappear.

The science of Animal Magnetism, remained in a very unsettled state, until the time of the celebrated Mesmer, from whom it received an additional impulse, and was reduced to some order. This philosopher, adopting the hypothesis of the universal fluid being the immediate agent of all the phenomena of nature, and the originator and preserver of life in organized bodies, conceived the idea, that it was owing to a diminution of this principle, that diseases took place. Hence, it resulted, that to restore an individual to health, all that was requisite was to furnish his system with a certain quantity of the magnetic fluid. The great difficulty now to be overcome, was the mode in which this was to be effected; but, as the magnet evidently contained more of this powerful agent than any other substance, Mesmer made use of it, employing in his experiments the magnetic plates invented by Father Hehl, the professor of astronomy at Vienna; these were of a peculiar form, and great effects were attributed to them. This was attended, if we are to credit his account, with astonishing success; rapidly causing a diminution of the disease, and subsequent cure of the patient. After repeating the experiment several times with the same results, he communicated the event to Hehl, who, not believing in Mesmer's theory, or rather having greater reliance on his own, published the cures

\* Thouret. *Recherches et doutes sur le magnétisme animal.*

as originating in the form of his plates. Hence, violent quarrels between them, and mutual appeals to the public, which ended in a victory on the part of Hehl.

Mesmer's ideas on animal magnetism, differ in many respects from those now entertained by the supporters of this doctrine, being far less extended and chimerical. He was at first of opinion, that the magnet possessed a specific power in diffusing and communicating the universal fluid; and therefore, it was the chief agent in his mode of operating. He insisted, that he had the power of transmitting and fixing this principle at will. "I have observed," says he, "that the magnetic matter is analogous to the electric fluid, and that it is transmitted in the same manner, by intermediate bodies. Iron is not the only substance containing it. I have rendered paper, bread, wool, silk, leather, stone, glass, water, wood, dogs, and men, all magnetic; in a word, all I touched became endowed with this fluid, and produced the same effects on patients as the magnet itself."\*

Mesmer, soon after this, submitted his discoveries to the Royal Academy at Berlin, the only learned society that would receive his paper; but they rejected them as destitute of foundation, and unworthy the slightest attention. This, however, did not discourage him; he persevered in his experiments, but now declared that the curative agent was different from the mineral magnetism, and bestowed on it the name of animal magnetism. He soon began to acquire reputation, and to be eagerly followed; and as the majority of mankind form their opinions more from imitation, or a blind confidence in others, than from reasoning, the number of his adherents rapidly increased. But not being credited by the learned and well informed, he was at last obliged to leave Germany; he travelled through some parts of Europe, performing, as is said, many wonderful cures, and finally, arrived in Paris, in 1778.

By this time, the public attention was strongly excited by the accounts which were published of the success of this mode of overcoming disease, so that he had scarcely established himself in that city, when crowds flocked to consult him, some in hopes of relief, and others from mere curiosity. His success became unrivalled, and his patients increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to take pupils to assist him in his operations. The most celebrated of these, was Deslon, who soon equalled his instructor in the successful and miraculous effects he produced. Mesmer thought this a favourable moment again to bring his alleged discoveries before the learned societies, but was unable to effect his object. The disappointment arose, not so much from a repugnance in these bodies to investigate the subject, as from

\* Lettre de Mesmer, à M. Vuzer.

the conditions Mesmer wished to be observed. His object appears to have been, that these societies should merely decide, whether patients treated by means of animal magnetism, experienced a decided relief; they, on the contrary, refused to give their sanction to his plan, without a full inquiry into the means employed, and the nature of the agent. The Faculty of Medicine went even further, and published a decree, forbidding any of their members from becoming partisans of the new doctrine, under the penalty of being expelled.

After some time, the French government finding the general excitement rather increasing than diminishing, determined to appoint a committee from the Faculty of Medicine and the Academy of Sciences, to make a thorough examination of Mesmer's pretensions; which was accordingly done. Four members were selected from the former of these bodies, and five from the latter, at the head of whom was Dr. Franklin; these gentlemen, after a rigorous and impartial investigation, presented a report, which gave a blow to animal magnetism, from which it is but now beginning to recover.

Mesmer himself refused to have any communication with the committee, but they were met by his most able disciple, Deslon, who explained the principles and practice of the art, in the following manner:—

“Animal Magnetism is a fluid universally diffused; it is the means of a mutual influence between celestial bodies, and between the earth and animated beings. It constitutes an absolute plenum in nature. It is the most subtle fluid known, and is capable of receiving, propagating, and communicating, all kinds of motion, being also susceptible of a flux and reflux. The animal body is subjected to the influence of this fluid by means of the nerves, which are immediately affected by it. The human body has poles and other properties analogous to the magnet. The action and virtue of animal magnetism may be communicated from one body to another, whether animate or inanimate. It operates at a great distance, without the intervention of any other body. It is increased and reflected by mirrors, communicated, concentrated, and transfused. Notwithstanding the universality of this fluid, all animal bodies are not equally affected by it, and there are a few whose presence destroys all its effects. By means of this fluid, nervous disorders are cured immediately, and all others mediately; its virtues, in fact, extend to the universal cure and preservation of mankind.”

Such were the propositions that Deslon pledged himself to verify, as well as to explain the mode of treatment. The machinery he used, was a circular box or platform made of oak, and raised about a foot and a half from the ground; this platform was called the *baquet*. At the top of it, were a number of holes, in which were iron rods with moveable joints, for the purpose of applying them to any part of the body. The patients were placed in a circle around this apparatus, each touching one of the rods, and were connected to each other by a cord passing round their bodies, to increase the effect by communication. In a corner of the room, was a piano, on which airs were occasionally played.



All the patients were furnished with a rod of iron, of about ten to twelve inches in length. The explanation Deslon gave, was, that the rod was a conductor of the magnetic fluid, and concentrated the magnetism. Sound, being another conductor, it was only necessary to magnetise the piano, by bringing an iron rod near it, when the fluid would be conveyed to the patients through any air that was played. The platform was to concentrate the magnetism, and transmit it to the patients. But persons might also be magnetised directly, by means of the finger, or an iron rod, waved before the face, behind the head, and over the diseased part; always observing the distinction of poles. But the chief method, was by pressure of the fingers on different parts of the body. The effects observed by the committee, as produced by these plans of operating, were various; some were calm, and experienced no sensation; others coughed, and felt a slight pain, or a local or general heat of body; whilst some were attacked with convulsions; in the latter case, the majority were females.

After attending several public exhibitions of this kind, the committee determined to try the effects on themselves privately; they were accordingly several times magnetised by Deslon, or one of his pupils, but experienced no magnetic influence.

It would lead us far beyond any due limits, to attempt to analyse the report of the committee as given by Bertrand. After a most laborious and careful examination, they were unanimously of opinion, that the whole of the effects produced, and the cures that had been performed, resulted from the effects of imitation and imagination, aided by the touching process.

This report was considered as entirely satisfactory, and a belief in animal magnetism was abandoned by all men of science and observation; but the delusion on the minds of the multitude existed for a long time. Finally, little was heard of this subject until within a few years past, when it was revived with additional vigour, and attended with still more extraordinary phenomena. These we shall notice, as laid before the world by the authors, whose names we have cited at the commencement of this article; but we wish, before entering on a review of their opinions, to say a few words on the effects produced by magnetism in other countries.

This science, as practised by Mesmer and his disciples, appears to have been principally confined to the continent of Europe; from the war existing between the continental powers and England, but little communication took place at that period, and the subject of magnetism had scarcely excited attention in England, before it was explained and overturned by the report of Franklin and his colleagues.

As, however, there are impostors and quacks in all countries, ready to seize on every theory that promises to fulfil the double



purpose of enriching themselves and gulling the public, it is scarcely to be supposed that animal magnetism escaped their attention.

One of the most celebrated charlatans of modern days was Dr. Graham, who lectured in London about this time; he was in some respects a promulgator of animal magnetism, though he made use of it rather to indulge the passions, than to check disease. A thousand stories were prevalent, as to the scenes that occurred at his Temple of Health; among his other exhibitions was that of a female, who, under the name of the Goddess of Health, was presented to the audience with scarcely more clothing than Venus had when she arose from the sea. Few quacks of the present day have been so successful as Graham, for he amassed a large fortune, and lived in splendid style.

Animal magnetism was also practised by a Dr. Manneduke, of the same place, who appears as a leader of this class of visionaries. Angelo, in his entertaining *Reminiscences*, gives a ludicrous account of his attempting to magnetise Ireland, of Shakspearian memory. "He, with a party, attended at one of the Sunday evening conversaziones at the magnetising doctor's, and, being unknown to the professor, volunteered himself a patient to be practised upon. The doctor observed his confidence, yet, more confident of his own power, expressed himself delighted with so fair an opportunity of exhibiting his skill. He began his incantations, made a thousand strange gesticulations, uttered all his metaphysical jargon, worked his fingers in mystical forms, and in short exhausted all the trumpery of the art, but in vain; Ireland was unmoved. The Doctor finding every effort fail, complimented him, by declaring that his nerves were proof against all excitement."

The impostures practised both by Graham and Manneduke, appear to be grounded on the great success obtained on the continent of Europe, but more especially in France, by that arch quack and prince of cheats, Count Cagliostro. The accounts given of the extraordinary infatuation of all ranks of society with regard to this man, are of so strange a nature, and develop such flagrant instances of impiety and indecency, as to be almost beyond belief.\*

America also contributed her share to the mass of popular delusions, about this period. Few among us but have heard of Perkinism, and the marvellous cures performed with the metallic tractors. These instruments, which were about two inches and a half in length, were formed of different metals, and resembled in shape, a cone divided longitudinally. To cure local affections, and particularly inflammatory tumours, toothach, &c. it was suf-

\* See *Correspondance littéraire par le Baron de Grimm*. Vol. III.

ficient to draw the point of the instrument lightly over the diseased part, following the direction of the principal nerves, for about twenty or thirty minutes, two or three times a day. These instruments evidently acted on the same principles as animal magnetism, and although Perkins has taken great pains, in a pamphlet he published on the subject, to show that the operation of the tractors was not dependent on this cause, we cannot but class him with Mesmer and his followers. Added to which, he is claimed as such by Deleuze, who observes, that not only the good effects produced by the tractors were attributable to magnetism, but that the mode of curing toothach by crushing a lady-bug between the fingers, and then touching the tooth with them, arose from the same cause; "for I am far from believing," says he, "that an insect can communicate a curative virtue to the fingers; but he who is persuaded of it, uses them with confidence and will, (*volonté*) and hence often succeeds." Whilst on the subject of the cure of toothach by lady-bugs, it may be interesting to our readers to know that Signor Gerbi, the discoverer of the plan, cured 401 persons in 629, by this mode. The best plan, according to him, is to bruise the insects (for the benefit of naturalists we give its long name—*Curculio antidontalgicus*, but the *Coccinella septempunctata* is equally useful,) between the finger and thumb; about a dozen should be used: the curative power of the fingers will last for a year, but is somewhat enfeebled by every tooth that is operated on.\* Signor Gerbi does not inform us whether the hands are to be washed during this period.

But to return to Perkinism; the inventor or his son, (we are not certain which,) finding that the United States did not afford a sufficient field for his operations, went to England, where he obtained a patent for his instruments, which were soon generally used; pamphlet after pamphlet was published, announcing the wonderful cures performed by this simple remedy, and the newspapers teemed with evidences of their utility. The mania rose to such a height, that a public establishment was formed, called the Perkinian Institution, for the purpose of diffusing the benefits of *tractation* among the poor. The delusion continued for a length of time, till the imposition was discovered, and the effects produced lucidly explained by Dr. Haygarth, as depending wholly on the imagination; for he found that pieces of wood were equally efficacious in their operation of removing pain, as the patent metallic tractors at five guineas a pair, although Perkins most solemnly warned the public against counterfeits. Every genuine set being stamped with the words Perkins' Patent Tractors, accompanied with a receipt for five guineas, signed in the

\* Opusculi scelti di Milano, t. xviii. p. 94.

handwriting of the patentee, proved most incontestably that the great power of the tractors resided in the patent and the five guineas.

As all discoveries in science have been traced to the Celestial empire, it is not to be supposed that so important an art was unknown in China. M. de Puységur gives the following account, derived from a missionary to that country, named Amiot, of its use, eleven centuries ago. The Chinese believe in a corporeal but invisible agent, occupying all space, which they call *Tay ki*; this is constituted of two elements termed *Pyn* and *Pyang*, one of which is hurtful, the other beneficial; hence, when they are in exact proportion in any individual, he enjoys good health, but if either predominates, disease necessarily results; these principles answer to the magnetic poles.

"In their books on medicine," says the Father, "there is an example of a cure performed by means of *Pyn-yang*, without any other remedy being employed, or any conductor used, than a simple bamboo tube. During the Tang dynasty, a mandarin of high rank had a wife, whom he saw was declining in health from day to day, without complaining of any particular disease; he wished her to consult a physician, but she opposed it, observing that when she married, she had made a firm resolution never to permit herself to be seen by any other man than her husband, and that she would not break this vow, should even death be the consequence; the mandarin endeavoured by every means to overcome this delicacy, but in vain. He consulted physicians, who all told him that they could not prescribe without having some account of the disease, or seeing the patient. An old philosopher at length presented himself, and declared that he would undertake to cure her without seeing her, or entering the apartment in which she was, provided she would hold in her hand one end of a long bamboo tube, whilst he held the other. The mandarin thought this an extraordinary procedure, and, without attaching any faith to the proposed remedy, he mentioned it to his wife as something to amuse her. The patient consented to the experiment; the operator came with his tube, and having placed it in the manner before described, told the woman to apply it to the spot in which she supposed her disease to exist, and to move it from place to place, until she experienced pain. She obeyed; and when the tube was directed to the region of the liver, a violent pain ensued, which caused her to cry out. 'Do not permit the instrument to escape from your grasp,' observed the operator, 'you will infallibly be cured.' Having kept her in a state of torture for about a quarter of an hour, he retired, and promised the mandarin to return every day, at the same hour, until a complete cure was effected; this took place after the sixth operation. The mandarin recompensed him liberally, but begged him to avow whether this cure had not been accomplished by *siè fa*, or magic; 'my art,' replied the magnetiser, 'is founded on the most common laws of nature, and therefore has never deceived me.'"

The editors of the *Propagateur du Magnétisme animal*, who also quote this case, appear to consider it as authentic, and observe, that they could cite many analogous instances occurring under their own observation, where cures had been performed, when the magnetiser was widely separated from the patient.

But to return to magnetism, as it is now professed and practised. In analysing this portion of the works before us, we shall let the authors tell their own story, convinced that "their round unvarnished tale," will more completely develop the absurdities,



as well as the dangerous tendency of the doctrine, than any observations we can offer. The art has now become so extended in its field of operations, and embraces such a variety of topics, that it will be impossible to present more than a mere sketch of the subject; we must therefore refer such of our readers as are anxious to obtain more particular information of this extraordinary science, to the works themselves, and can assure them, that if they remain unconvinced of the truth of the theory, they will at least find an ample fund of amusement, in the miraculous tales with which they are replete.

As we have already observed, magnetism received a severe shock, from the report of the committee appointed at Paris to examine into its pretensions, and it remained for some time in a dormant state, when a new phenomenon presented itself, which has excited the present enthusiasm in its favour, and placed the art on a new basis. We allude to the discovery, that *Somnambulism* was capable of being excited by it.

Somnambulism, it is well known, is a kind of morbid sleep, that occurs naturally in some persons, during an attack of which, an individual may walk about, or perform his usual routine of occupations, and even converse with those around him, yet, on being awakened, retains no remembrance of what had passed. This condition, or one analogous to it, is produced by a magnetiser, at will; the patient's eyes are closed, and, in fact, all the external senses are in the same state as in sleep, whilst the internal perceptions are invigorated in an astonishing degree, and a kind of instinct is developed, that acts in a most miraculous manner. During this magnetic somnambulism, the patient is wholly under the influence of his magnetiser, who can oblige him to answer questions on almost every topic, although in the natural condition of his faculties, he may be totally unacquainted with the subjects.

It appears that the Marquis de Puységur, was the first who perceived this result from the powers of animal magnetism. Having accidentally spoken to a person whom he had reduced to a state of somnambulism, to his extreme astonishment he was answered, and informed of the proper mode of treatment to be adopted in the case, and moreover, that all patients should be thus interrogated as to their diseases.

But this is not all,—

"It is to somnambulists," says Deleuze, "that we owe all the information that we have acquired as to the nature of the magnetic fluid. The majority of somnambulists see a luminous and brilliant emanation environ their magnetiser, particularly around his head and hands. They are sensible that man can accumulate, direct, and even saturate, different substances with this fluid, at will. It has an agreeable smell to them, and communicates a peculiar taste to water and food. They also perceive various qualities in this fluid, in different individuals; they pretend that it is not as luminous, is of less tenuity, and issues more slowly from persons in ill health. On this account, they evince much repugnance in



touching any clothing that has been worn by an individual, suffering under disease."

This accounts for the marvellous stories which have been lately current, of these somnambulists being able to tell the disease with which an individual, living in another country, may be affected, merely from an inspection of a lock of his hair.

In the *Propagateur du Magnétisme animal*, several of these incidents are related, one of which we will condense, as affording a fair example of the extent to which this delusion has been carried. "We arrived," says the relater, "at the house of MM. Chapelain and Dupotet, were introduced, and found a female in a state of somnambulism; her eyes were completely closed, and the lids appeared to be so firmly applied to each other, that tears could not escape. Mr. Dupotet was consulting her about a patient in the country, who had sent a lock of his hair, and which she held in her hand. She ordered the proper remedies for the case. A letter from the sick person was shown to us, in which he says, that the symptoms she had described him as suffering from, really existed." A similar narrative has been given in one of the last numbers of the London Literary Gazette.

The mode of producing somnambulism, and all other magnetic effects, are given at great length, in *L' instruction pratique sur le magnétisme animal*, par Deleuze, as well as in his *Histoire critique*. As some of our readers may wish to try the experiment themselves, we have endeavoured to reduce these rules to as small a compass as possible.

"When any person is desirous of being magnetised, you must make him promise to obey your directions in every particular, and, above all, not to mention his intention of submitting to the operation, to any individual. When he has agreed to this, the process may be undertaken, but nobody is to be present, except the necessary witnesses, and if possible but one of these; whoever does attend, must not be allowed to interfere in the operation or its results."

"Having fixed the person in a commodious posture, you are to place yourself on a seat a little more elevated than his, and directly opposite to him, so that your knees and feet may touch. Then take his thumbs between your fingers, in such a manner, that his and your thumbs may be applied to each other; you are to remain in this position, till you feel that they have acquired an equal temperature."

We would remark, that all the authors on animal magnetism, are of opinion, that the action of this fluid is better communicated by the thumbs, than in any other manner.

"The hands are then to be placed on the shoulders, and suffered to remain there two or three minutes, and afterwards gently brought down the arms to the thumbs; this manœuvre is to be repeated three or four times. Then the two hands are to be placed over the pit of the stomach, so that the thumbs are over the solar plexus, and the fingers on the ribs. When you feel an equalization of temperature, the hands are to be gradually lowered to the knees, then carried to the head, and again brought down to the knees, or even to the feet; this process is to be continued for some time, always taking care to turn the palms of

the hands outwards, whenever they are brought up; this, as well as never to magnetise from the feet to the head, is very essential."

This mode of magnetising, is called by the professors of the art, "*magnétiser à grandes courans*," and should always be used at the commencement of the treatment; for, all the authorities we have consulted, agree that it is dangerous to concentrate the magnetism on any one part, particularly in nervous persons; but, after they are thus universally magnetised, you may apply an additional quantity of this fluid to the diseased part. MM. Deleuze and Puysegur also give some very important directions as to the conduct of the operator:—

"He is not," say they, "to employ any muscular force to direct the magnetic action. All the movements are to be easy and graceful. The hand is not to be extended, but the fingers are to have a gentle curve. A magnetic sitting should be about three quarters of an hour; for, as it is indispensable that the attention should not flag, a longer time would be fatiguing. The operator is never to be undecided, but is to act with confidence; to entertain a sentiment of pity, and a desire to afford relief. When the sitting is about to finish, great care must be taken to extend the fluid over the whole surface of the body, and it is proper to make some passes\* on the legs, from the knees to the feet, to free the head."

Such is the latest and most improved plan of magnetising in a general way; to detail all the particular processes to be employed in different diseases, would require a volume. There are, however, some important requisites, for both magnetiser and magnetised, which are essential to the success of the undertaking. They are, in fact, the foundation of the whole science; as, without them, magnetism is but a dead letter. These are, according to Deleuze, "an active feeling of good will; a firm belief in the power of magnetism; and entire confidence in its employer."

After somnambulism is produced, the patient should be asked if he sleeps; if this should wake him, this state must not be attempted to be re-excited during that sitting; if, however, he answers without waking, the desired effect has been induced, and other questions may be proposed, on the nature of his disease, and the remedies to be employed in its cure; but caution must be used, in so asking the questions that no mistake can ensue.

When it is wished to unmagnetise the patient,—

"You must draw off the fluid by the extremity of the hands and feet, in making the passes beyond these parts, and shaking your fingers after each pass. Afterwards you are to make some passes across the face and breast, keeping the hands about three or four inches from them. These are made, by presenting the hands joined, and separating them quickly from each other, as if to carry off the superabundant fluid with which the patient may be charged."

Somnambulism has become the great aim of all the magnetis-

\* We are obliged to use the French word, for the want of a term in English that would convey the exact idea: it means any movement of the hands in magnetising.

ers; and it is obtained so frequently, that a fifth part of all those who submit to be magnetised, are thrown into different degrees of it. The production of this state, and the *clairvoyance*, or second sight of individuals, during its continuance, may be considered as the great characteristic distinction, between the magnetism of the present day, and that of Mesmer.

But it has been induced in a much more rapid manner, than by the procedure we have given above. An abbé Faria acquired such a magnetic power, that he could produce the somnambulic state in his patients by merely speaking to them. Bertrand gives the following account of his method:—

“He seated the person to be magnetised in a chair, ordered him to shut his eyes, and abstract his mind from passing events, then suddenly pronounced, in an emphatic and imperative tone, the word sleep! this usually produced such an effect on the patient, as to occasion trembling and other symptoms, speedily followed, in many cases, by somnambulism. If his first attempt did not succeed, he repeated it three times; and if still unsuccessful, declared that the person was incapable of entering into this condition!”

He boasted that he had caused somnambulism in upwards of 5000 persons; there may be some exaggeration in this, but it is incontestable that he generally succeeded. Faria was, however, a complete charlatan, and made use of the power he acquired over the imagination of individuals, as a means of enriching himself; having public exhibitions of somnambulists.

The theories of magnetism now professed, may be reduced to three general heads.—That of Mesmer, and his disciples; that of the Spiritualists; and that of Puységur.

The first, as we have already observed, admits the existence of a universal fluid, which fills all space, and is the medium of communication between all bodies. The Spiritualists believe, that all the phenomena are produced by the soul, and that physical action is almost useless; this doctrine, which has many partisans in Germany and Prussia, is by far the most mystical. The exegetic and philanthropic society of Stockholm, thus explain this theory:—

“There are two modes of magnetising; one physical, the other supernatural. The principle which gives activity to the first, is the desire of the magnetiser to act on the patient, and the confidence he has in himself; the foundation of the other, is the same desire, but under the will of God, whose benediction the magnetiser implores, if the cure is conformable to the designs of Providence, in which he places all his reliance. The desire of the one, has only a mortal good in view; the other a spiritual one. Magnetising is an act, in which the desire of the magnetiser for the welfare of another is the moving cause, and the effect is to dissipate the evil spirits of disease. There is some analogy between magnetism and the imposition of hands, which was accorded by the Saviour to the members of his church.”

Such are the wild and impious doctrines of this sect of magnetisers,—opinions which it appears almost inconceivable could have been adopted by sensible and well informed men.

We have also had somnambulists of this class in the United

States; the most celebrated of whom, was Miss Rachael Baker, at New-York, or its vicinity; who not only answered questions whilst in that condition, but also composed prayers and hymns, and preached most admirable sermons; all of which she was incapable of doing when awake. Dr. Mitchell, who appears to have been one of her disciples, or at least, believers, has favoured the world with a detailed account of her case, accompanied with some choice specimens of her compositions.

The school of Puységur, attribute all the effects produced by magnetism, to a subtle and peculiar vital fluid, which is secreted, or at least accumulated in the brain, to which the nerves serve as conductors. This fluid, which presides over all actions of the body, is wholly under the power of the will, and can be transfused into any other body. M. de Puységur does not admit the theory of poles, or of planetary influence, but considers the will to be the great source of power, at the same time this will must be directed by physical means, in order to act on patients.

He has also introduced a great change in the method of operating; instead of the *baquet* and public exhibitions used by Mesmer and Deslon, all the treatment is now conducted in private; this has had a good effect; as the patients, instead of being thrown into convulsions, and other violent symptoms, now are reduced to a state of somnambulism.

In consequence of the renewed excitement occasioned by the doctrine of Puységur and his disciples, as well as from the extraordinary instances of cures performed by somnambulists;—for it is evident from what we have said in elucidation of the theory, that the magnetiser only induces the somnambulist state, when the patients, having their internal senses and preservative instinct astonishingly developed, prescribe for themselves;—the subject of animal magnetism was again brought before the Academy of Medicine, where an animated discussion took place, whether a committee should be appointed to examine the merits and consequences of the doctrine. This was at first negatived; but on a subsequent trial, a committee of eleven members was named, consisting of some of the most celebrated physicians of Paris. We have not seen their report, nor are we aware of what their decision has been. During the debate, the celebrated Laennec observed that he had studied the subject for twenty years, and was satisfied that it was a tissue of deception and imposture, although, when he commenced the study, he was prejudiced in its favour; that the phenomena effected by magnetism, and the oracles uttered by the somnambulists, vary with every magnetiser; thus Mesmer excited convulsions, Deslon caused crises, as are seen in diseases. The somnambulists of Deleuze, who is a learned man, were much better taught than those of Puységur,



who is ignorant of the sciences. Mr. Laennec also stated, that he had seen a somnambulist under the direction of an apothecary, who was quite distinguished by the art with which she compounded the medicines she recommended. Rostan, who also took part in the discussion, and was a supporter of the doctrine, related the following extraordinary instance of second sight in a somnambulist under his magnetising:—

“Here,” says he, “is an experiment that I have often repeated, but which I was finally obliged to interrupt, because it fatigued my somnambulist to such a degree, that she assured me if it was continued, it would make her deranged. This experiment was made in the presence of my colleague and friend M. Ferrus. I took my watch, which I placed three or four inches from her occiput. ‘I asked my somnambulist, if she saw any thing,’ ‘certainly, I see something that shines; it pains me.’ Her countenance was expressive of pain, and ours expressed astonishment. We looked at each other, and M. Ferrus breaking silence, said, ‘if she sees something shine, she can doubtless tell what it is.’ ‘What do you see that shines?’—‘Oh! I do not know, I cannot tell.’ ‘Look at it well’—‘Stop, it fatigues me, wait, (and after a moment of great attention) it is a watch.’ ‘But if she sees the watch, observed M. Ferrus, she can doubtless see what the hour is.’ ‘Can you inform me what o’clock it is?’—‘Oh no! that is too difficult.’ ‘Look attentively, try.’ ‘Well then I will, perhaps I may be able to designate the hour, but I shall never be able to tell the minutes.’ After the greatest attention, she said; ‘It wants ten minutes of eight,’ which was the exact hour. M. Ferrus now desired to make the experiment himself, and repeated it with the same success. He requested me to change the hands of his watch several times; on presenting it to her, and without her being able to see it, she invariably designated their direction.”

This is certainly a marvellous *clairvoyance*, for a person in a profound slumber, but at the same time it does not equal that of Miss M’Evoy, who could tell the hour through the crystal of a watch, or see people walking in the street through a pane of glass, with the tips of her fingers, and without being in a state of somnambulism.

To give our readers some idea of the mummery that has been practised and believed by the adherents of magnetism, we extract the following account from the Marquis de Puységur’s work, quoted at the head of this article.

“In the month of September last, during the time that public opinion was influenced by the report of the joint committee from the Royal Academy and the Royal Society, a young lady of distinguished rank, and who appeared to enjoy the best health, was at the chateau of a relation, the Marquis of B., and like the rest of the party, scoffed at animal magnetism. The Baron B., her uncle, proposed that they should magnetise each other. He directed on his niece, his predated influence; at first she laughed heartily, but this was soon perceived to lose its natural character, and to the extreme surprise of the company, she gradually lost the use of her senses, and at last, as a feeble magnet is attracted by a stronger, was obliged to follow her magnetiser wherever he went. It was attempted to separate them, but this produced frightful convulsions. On the Baron retiring from the room, these increased to such a degree, that they were obliged to search for him, and intreat him to return; the moment he began to do this, the patient, notwithstanding the distance they were separated, and the thickness of the intervening walls, was conscious of it. ‘Ah, he is returning,’ she exclaimed, ‘I feel it, I see him, he is now entering the anti-chamber.’ This was true. As soon as he entered the room, the convulsions ceased. At the end of some

hours, this crisis disappeared, and left the patient in a languid though tranquil state. Next day her uncle came to see her, and found she had no recollection of what had passed. On telling her, she laughed, pointed her finger as if magnetising her uncle, and in a short time again fell into a state of somnambulism. It was now thought expedient to have recourse to a magnetising physician at Nantes. Baron B. went for him, the convulsions were renewed, she saw him, she followed him in idea on the route, arrived with him at Nantes, and indicated his most trifling actions. 'He is thinking of me, he has taken off his boots, he has changed his coat,' &c. &c. At the very moment he entered the physician's house, she said, 'Ah! he is speaking of me, he will return with a physician I do not know.' Thus passed the day and the succeeding night; on the next day she exclaimed, 'Ah! they have set out on their return, they are speaking of me,' and she repeated what they said; during the journey, her uncle had a dispute with some one; she immediately called for help to defend him from the attacks of a person in grey, who was about to beat him. Finally they arrived; the physician alone appearing, she asked, 'where is my uncle.' 'He has remained at Nantes,' replied he. 'That is not true, I have seen him, I still see him, he is now in the room,' &c.

To give the sequel of this marvellous story, she was perfectly cured.

But the sagacity of this young lady falls far short of that of Madame M., whose case is detailed at great length in the *Propagateur du Magnétisme animal*. We pass over the first part of the treatment, merely premising, that, being of a delicate constitution, and enfeebled by a long continuance of disease, her magnetiser considered her as "tout à fait propre, à recevoir l'influence magnétique;" he was not mistaken in his expectations; for, almost immediately after he commenced his operations, she became somnambulant; few interrogatories were propounded to her at this time, but, on the succeeding day, having again been thrown into a state of somnambulism, the following, among other questions, were asked:—

"Do you think that magnetism will be of service to you?—Certainly, it will relieve all my sufferings. When should you be again magnetised?—To-morrow, the day after, every day.—But, I beg you to tell me, when you will endeavour to discover your disease, and indicate the means of cure.—On the day after to-morrow, if I possibly can; at least I will attempt it."

Next day, however, after having been more strongly magnetised, she was persuaded to give some explanations and directions as to her disease:—

"Do you believe that you will be cured by magnetism? Yes, fully.—Tell me, I beseech you, if you cannot find some means to calm the pain you feel every morning? (With an air of satisfaction,) wait!—wait! (after some moments of reflection,) I believe I must take figs and milk, for eight days.—Cooked figs?—Yes, five or six figs must be boiled in a cup of milk, and taken every morning; they must be perfectly done.—Why? Because I must eat them.—What regimen must you pursue during your treatment?—After having taken my milk and figs, early in the morning, I must breakfast at eleven o'clock, on *soupe maigre*, in which there is little salt. At dinner, no meat or vegetables, but, above all, no vinegar. During these eight days, is nothing else to be done?—No: ah! I shall suffer from a violent headach; on Tuesday, I shall have it badly."

The magnetising treatment was continued for some time, during which the patient made some extraordinary anatomical dis-

sertations, which call forth the following remarks from her physician. "As a physician, can I, after such language from the mouth of a young female, wholly ignorant of anatomy, without any knowledge of medicine, can I deny the astonishing lucidness of somnambulists?" This patient soon afterwards left Paris, to return to Lorraine, her native country, as it was revealed to her that this would restore her health.

The above are merely given as examples of the conversations that ensue between magnetisers and their patients; but, we are afraid that our readers will still "be so absurd as to refuse to credit this, and similar facts, although attested by so great a number of physicians and philosophers, and will preserve their prudent scepticism, until their eyes have seen, and their fingers touched."

It must be evident to the most cursory observer, that all the effects produced by these different modes of operating, depend on a single cause,—the influence of the imagination. That this is capable of producing phenomena as striking and extraordinary as those effected by animal magnetism, is a fact too notorious to be denied, by the most prejudiced adherent of the doctrine. How an operation of the mind can modify the actions of vessels, nerves, and muscles, is at once mysterious and inscrutable; but that such is the case, every day's observation most amply demonstrates. Not to dilate on the familiar examples of blushing and paleness, induced by emotions of the mind, it is to the same cause, that may be referred all the cures performed by persons supposed to be gifted with extraordinary powers, either from heaven direct, or by descent; thus kings, old women, and seventh sons, all have had medical diplomas assigned them for ages, for the treatment of certain diseases. One of the most extraordinary instances of this kind, both from the number of cures really performed, and the learning and character of the persons who attested them, is that of Valentine Greatraks, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. We give the account, as extracted by Deleuze, from Pechlin. He was the son of an Irish gentleman of good education and property. Disgusted with the religious and political dissensions of his country, in the time of Cromwell, he retired from the world, apparently in a state of disease that would soon terminate his existence. On his recovery, he became a puritan, and soon after had an "impulse of strange persuasion on his mind, that God had given him the blessing of curing the king's evil." He accordingly commenced the practice of touching for this disease, but soon extended his powers to almost all the maladies to which man is subject, and was successful in a vast proportion of cases; many of these are certified by the most learned men of the day, as Boyle, Cud-

worth, Astelius, &c. His method consisted in applying his hand on the affected part, and making slight frictions.

We should extend this article beyond all bounds, were we to quote half the well authenticated cases of cures, performed through the medium of the imagination. We have no doubt, that many of the histories of recovery from disease, occasioned by placing the sick on the tombs of saints, as well as from their relics, have really occurred. The effects of incantations, amulets, magic, witchcraft, tractors, and magnetism, all arise from one common source; and, on the same principle, may we also account for the marvellous recoveries ascribed to empyrical remedies, which, whether they are inert or powerful, have an equally remedial effect on those who have faith in them. In vain is the spirit of quackery exorcised in one form; it rises again immediately, "with twenty mortal murders on its crown, to push us from our stools." Public credulity is an ample fund for all those who wish to levy contributions on it. Whoever has contemplated the progress of real knowledge, during a long course of years, will have seen bubble after bubble arise, glitter for a moment, and then disappear for ever, to be succeeded by another as gorgeous and illusory.

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ART. VIII.—*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India, to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China; exhibiting a View of the Actual State of those Kingdoms: by JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., late Envoy, &c.* 4to. pp. 598. London: 1828.

MANY lustres have not been counted, since the nations of the continents of Asia and Africa were objects of interest and knowledge for the people of Europe and our hemisphere, only through tales invented for amusement, or legends and reports which had scarcely a more instructive and authentic character; or narratives and opinions appertaining to religious creeds and traditions. Within the present century, new enterprises of commerce, scientific research, liberal travel, military conquest, or the apostolical spirit, have awakened attention to the East, in a wider and more earnest degree, and furnished much ampler details of genuine information. It is not wonderful, that common curiosity and philosophical inquiry, should be palled with the European countries so often and fully described; so near, and comparatively so familiar and uniform; and the study of the more distant and strange varieties of the human constitution and state, be deemed more profitable and poignant. This appetite would naturally be increased, by such works as Sir John Malcolm's Sketches



of Persia; the books of Fraser and Morier; the narrative of Heber; and, we may add, *the Journal of the Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*, upon which we are about to dwell. Mr. Crawford, the envoy, is not a new candidate for literary honours;—he had acquired much reputation by his excellent History of the Indian Archipelago, one of those compositions which the reader often recommends to his friends, with a sense of gratitude for the enjoyment they have yielded to his leisure hours. The present volume will surely be comprised in the same list; and we shall be equally warranted, no doubt, in referring to that list also, another from the same pen, which is promised under the title of *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava, in 1827*.

The British have written more and better on foreign countries, as travellers, than any other people; but their prejudices, pride, and spleen, have caused them to be guilty of gross mistakes and misrepresentations, in treating of the Christian nations of Europe and America, with whom they differ in language, religious faith, or political institutions. We should distrust them less as painters of oriental character and manners, which they examine with a clearer vision, and more impartial spirit. The envoy to Siam and Cochin-China, inspires us with comparative confidence, though, as to the population of the latter kingdom, he exhibits them altogether in a more favourable light, than our countryman, Lieutenant White, in his *History of a Voyage to the China Sea*. We rely implicitly on Mr. White's statements; but it is probable that the Cochin-Chinese conducted themselves in a less offensive manner towards the British embassy, who were an imposing body, and more under the protection of the Cochin-Chinese government, which, as we shall have occasion to notice particularly, reaches every subject, with a power and rigour well adapted to control even the worst and most inveterate propensities. It is not unlikely, moreover, that Mr. Crawford's representations are kinder, from obvious considerations of policy; though, in saying this, we would not be understood to dispute his general frankness. That he is not perfectly generous as an author and an Englishman, is evident, from his total silence concerning Lieutenant White's History, which was printed in Massachusetts, in 1823, and obtained some time ago special notice and commendation in the London reviews. The American voyager preceded Mr. Crawford by nearly two years; and his vessels, the Franklin and Marmion, were the two first American, that "ever ascended the Don-nai river, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon."

It was in September, 1821, that Mr. Crawford was nominated by the governor-general of British India, to proceed on the mission to the two courts; and, in the month of November follow-

ing, that he embarked with scientific and medical assistants, and an escort of thirty sepoys. In the earlier period of the Indian commerce of the European nations, the trade of Siam and Cochin-China formed no immaterial part of it; but, owing to several causes, this dwindled by degrees to insignificance, and was regarded as extinct, for the seventy years preceding 1820; when the local rulers of India were taught to believe, that "the industry and civilization, together with the geographical position and natural fertility of soil which characterized the kingdoms of Siam and Cochin-China, were such as to render it extremely desirable to negotiate with the sovereigns of those countries, the renewal of a commercial intercourse with Great Britain and her Indian dominions." For this purpose chiefly was Mr. Crawford deputed, as a thorough man of business in Indian concerns; an experienced and acute observer; and an able relater of events and appearances. He had it in charge, to endeavour first to disarm the apprehensions, and to remove the antipathies of the governments and subjects of the two countries—obstacles which might well be styled very considerable, when heed was given to the lessons conveyed to the independent nations of the East, in the history and fate of the British "Indian dominions." The envoy was instructed, carefully to refrain from "demanding or hinting at any of those adventitious aids or privileges, upon which the earlier traders of Europe were accustomed to found their expectations of commercial benefit; such as the establishment of forts and factories; exemption from municipal jurisdiction and customary imposts," &c. It was also suggested to him, to keep in mind the advantage which might result from his remaining such a time at the court of Siam, as would afford him an opportunity of attaining a competent knowledge of the character of the court, the manners of the people, and the resources of the country.

In embarking, our author makes one remark with regard to the *Ganges*, which must not be lost,—that with all its difficulties and dangers, the English, "if their Indian conquests be of any advantage to them," owe almost as much gratitude to the river as the Hindus themselves; for it is the great military road which conducted them into the richest provinces of Hindustan, the acquisition of which, enabled them eventually to conquer and maintain the rest of their possessions. On leaving Penang, or Prince of Wales's island, he takes occasion to give an account of a place possessing some importance in the commerce of the East. In the culture of articles where skill can compensate for natural defects, the agriculture of the island is much superior to that of any other country of Asia. So neat and perfect a specimen of husbandry,—observes Mr. Crawford,—no where exists in the East, as the pepper culture of Penang, the

joint effect of European intelligence and Chinese industry. The population is nearly sixty thousand, and the chief proprietors of the soil are Europeans and Chinese. Malacca is also described before the embassy reaches Singapore. The Hindus of Malacca are the only ultramarine colonists of that people known to Europeans; and the Portuguese descendants of the haughty conquerors who fought by the side of Albuquerque, are "a timid, peaceable, and submissive race," in number about four thousand. At Singapore, much attention was paid to the Chinese junks, and in terminating his description of them, Mr. Crawford proceeds thus:—

"While on the subject of the trade and navigation of the Chinese, I may take the opportunity of mentioning the very singular species of adventure carried on by them, in the Straits of Malacca, in large row boats, commonly known by the native name of *prahu pukat*. One of these which I measured, was about sixty-five feet long, nine feet in the beam, and about four feet in depth, and carried a cargo, of from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety piculs, or near twenty tons. She was rowed by twelve oars and fourteen paddles, and had the occasional assistance of a sail, with fair winds. She had a crew, consisting of the commander and twenty-six rowers. Such a boat is usually the property of the commander, and the cargo belongs to the crew, each according to the capital he has contributed to the joint adventure. There is not one idle person on board, for the commander steers, and each of the adventurers has his oar or his paddle. Their adventures are confined between the islands at the eastern extremity of the straits of Malacca, and the town of that name, out of the influence of the monsoons, and under the protection of the variable winds which characterize these latitudes. From the rapidity of their course, they are quite secure from the attack of pirates. The voyage backwards and forwards may, of course, be performed at every season. In fair weather, one of them will sail between the island of Linga and Singapore in two days; and in the least favourable weather, in six; performing the voyage, therefore, on an average, in four days. The distance is about one hundred and eighty miles; so that these boats go, under the most favourable circumstances, at the rate of ninety miles a day, or close upon four knots an hour, and, at an average, forty-five miles a day. Three voyages may be performed in a month, if the state of the markets do not occasion extraordinary delays. When pepper is the cargo, as very frequently happens, the adventurers are contented, I am told, with a profit of three fourths of a dollar per picul, when the selling price of this commodity is ten dollars. This supposes a profit of eight and a half per cent., on each adventure."

On the 24th March, the envoy cast anchor in the roads of Siam, and transmitted information of his arrival to the court. In the evening of the same day, his party were permitted to land at Pak-ham, the first station in ascending the river, where the curiosity of the natives seemed to be most strongly excited by their Hindu servants, and the abundant hospitality of the Governor was rendered the more novel, by the presence, near the table, of the corpse of his predecessor and brother, which had been lying in state for five months, embalmed, according to the custom of the country. The good fare was pressed upon them with the Siamese form of compliment—"eat heartily and be not abashed;" an inscription for every refectory. Nothing that the envoy saw at Pak-ham raised his opinion of the progress of the Siamese in



the useful arts of life. "The cottage of an English peasant, not on the brink of a workhouse, possesses more real comfort, than the mansion of the Siamese Governor, who exercises an arbitrary authority over fifty thousand people." On the 28th of March, the ship ascended the river towards the capital, the appearance of which is pourtrayed as follows :—

"March 29—The morning presented to us a very novel spectacle—the capital of Siam, situated on both sides of the Menam. Numerous temples of Buddha, with tall spires attached to them, frequently glittering with gilding, were conspicuous among the mean huts and hovels of the natives, throughout which were interspersed a profusion of palms, ordinary fruit trees, and the sacred fig (*ficus religiosa*). On each side of the river, there was a row of floating habitations, resting on rafts of bamboos, moored to the shore. These appeared the neatest and best description of dwellings ; they were occupied by good Chinese shops. Close to these aquatic habitations, were anchored the largest description of native vessels, among which were many junks of great size, just arrived from China. The face of the river presented a busy scene, from the number of boats and canoes of every size and description which were passing to and fro. The number of these struck us as very great at the time, for we were not aware that there are few or no roads at Bang-kok, and that the river and canals form the common highways, not only for goods, but for passengers of every description. Many of the boats were shops containing earthenware, blachang, dried fish, and fresh pork. Venders of these several commodities were hawking and crying them as in an European town. Among those who plied on the river, there was a large proportion of women, and of the priests of Buddha ; the latter readily distinguished by their shaved and bare heads, and their yellow vestments. This was the hour in which they are accustomed to go in quest of alms, which accounted for the great number of them we saw."

Sons and deputies of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, were sent on board to welcome—not the ambassador, but the letter which he bore from the Governor-General of India ; and to ascertain all the points of the *horse*, which was one of the presents for His Siamese Majesty. The British party were soon invited to a first audience with the minister, whose attendants and family lay all the time prostrate on their knees and elbows, at the distance of several yards, and who proved to be quite an adept in diplomacy. The next public interview was with the heir apparent, the eldest son of the king, a corpulent figure, meanly dressed, in a splendid hall strewn with prostrate courtiers. During the two hours that it lasted, the strangers saw no article of food, but on their return to the mansion which had been assigned to them, they found eight large tubs of sweetmeats from the Prince's store. At length, (April 5), they were informed that their introduction to the monarch himself, might take place, but difficulties arose about the mode of conveyance to the royal palace. Elephants had ceased to be used in the capital, except by privileged officers of the government ; to ride on horseback was not considered *respectable* ; palanquins or litters were therefore selected, and here a great obstacle presented itself. The Siamese, it seems, admire themselves as the first nation in the world—"half naked and enslaved barbarians as they are:"—viewing, consequently,



the performance of any servile office for a stranger as an act of extreme degradation, it was with the utmost reluctance that the chiefs consented to allow a few carriers to support the litters. The Siamese have another prejudice of vanity, more rare than national contempt for all others of the human race. They cherish a horror of permitting any thing to pass over the head, or having the head touched, or bringing their persons into a situation of physical inferiority, such as going under a bridge, or entering the lower apartment of a house when the upper one is inhabited. For this reason, their dwellings are all of one story. But the domicile of the mission had been intended for a warehouse, and consisted of two stories, to the second of which there was no access, save by a trap-door. This occasioned a serious dilemma to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he wished to visit and feast the envoy at home. He must suffer in public estimation, if a stranger could, by any possibility, walk over his head; so that though an unwieldy personage, he adopted the alternative of getting into the attic by means of a ladder which was erected against the side of the house.

An immense concourse of people occupied the neighbourhood of the sovereign's palace, to witness the entrance of the embassy on the day of their presentation. The four British officers were alone suffered to go into the hall of audience; and these not until they had taken off their shoes. We shall employ Mr. Crawford's narrative of the transaction, and of the equally interesting visit to the white elephants, which immediately followed.

"Opposite to the door of the hall of audience, there was an immense Chinese mirror of many parts, which formed a screen, concealing the interior of the court from our view.

"We had no sooner arrived at this spot, than a loud flourish of wind instruments was heard, accompanied by a wild shout, or yell, which announced, as we afterwards found, the arrival of his Majesty. We passed the screen to the right side, and, as had been agreed upon, taking off our hats, made a respectful bow in the European manner. Every foot of the great hall which we had now entered, was literally so crowded with prostrate courtiers, that it was difficult to move without the risk of treading upon some officer of state. Precedence is decided, upon such occasions, by relative vicinity to the throne, the princes being near the foot of it, the principal officers of government next to them, and thus in succession down to the lowest officer who is admitted into the presence. We seated ourselves a little in front of the screen, and made three obeisances to the throne, in unison with the courtiers. This obeisance consisted in raising the joined hands to the head three times, and at each, touching the forehead. To have completed the Siamese obeisance, it would have been necessary to have bent the body to the ground, and touched the earth with the forehead, at each prostration. I thought the place assigned to us, although not a very distinguished one, the highest it was intended to concede; but we had no sooner made our obeisances, than we were requested to advance, and were finally settled about half way towards the throne. The assigning to us the first place, and our advance afterwards to a more honourable one, was evidently an artifice of our conductors, to exact a greater number of obeisances, than we had pledged ourselves to make; for, when we were seated the second time, the whole court made their additional obeisances, in which we were compelled to join, to avoid the imputation of rudeness.

"The hall of audience appeared a well-proportioned and spacious saloon, of about eighty feet in length, perhaps half this in breadth, and thirty feet in height. Two rows, each of ten handsome wooden pillars, formed an avenue from the door to the throne, which was situated at the upper end of the hall. The walls and ceiling were painted of a bright vermillion; the cornices of the former being gilded, and the latter thickly spangled throughout with stars in rich gilding. Between the pillars, we observed several good lustres of English cut glass. The apartment would have been altogether in good taste, but for the appearance, against the pillars, of some miserable lamps of tin-plate, which had been imported from Batavia, and which were in all likelihood prized only because they were foreign.

"The throne and its appendages, occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The first was gilded all over, and about fifteen feet high. It had much the shape and look of a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains, a gold tissue upon a yellow ground, concealed the whole of the upper part of the room, except the throne; and they were intended to be drawn over this also, except when used. In front of the throne, and rising from the floor, were to be seen a number of gilded umbrellas of various sizes. These consisted of a series of canopies, decreasing in size upwards, and sometimes amounting to as many as seventeen tiers. The king, as he appeared seated on his throne, had more the appearance of a statue in a niche, than of a living being. He wore a loose gown of gold tissue, with very wide sleeves. His head was bare, for he wore neither crown nor any other ornament on it. Close to him was a golden baton, or sceptre.

"The general appearance of the hall of audience, the prostrate attitude of the courtiers, the situation of the king, and the silence which prevailed, presented a very imposing spectacle, and reminded us much more of a temple crowded with votaries, engaged in the performance of some solemn rite of religion, than the audience-chamber of a temporal monarch.

"The king seemed a man between fifty and sixty years of age, rather short in person, and disposed to corpulency. His features were very ordinary, and appeared to bespeak the known indolence and imbecility of his character; but, upon this subject, it was not easy to form any correct opinion, owing to the distance we were from the throne, and the sort of *chiaro scuro* cast upon it, evidently for effect.

"To the left of the throne, we saw exhibited the portable part of the presents from the governor-general: a secretary proceeded to read a list of them; and I make no doubt they were represented as tribute, or offering, although of this it was impossible to obtain proof. The letter of the governor-general was neither read nor exhibited, notwithstanding the distinct pledge which had been given to that effect.

"The words which His Siamese Majesty condescended to address to us, were delivered in a grave and oracular manner. One of the first officers of state delivered them to a person of inferior rank, and this person to Ko-chai-sahak, who was behind us, and explained them in the Malay language. The questions put, as they were rendered to us, were as follows: 'The Governor-General of India, (literally, in Siamese, The Lord, or Governor, of Bengal) has sent you to Siam—what is your business?' A short explanation of the objects of the mission was given in reply. 'Have you been sent with the knowledge of the King of England?' It was here explained, that, from the great distance of England, the political intercourse with the distant nations of the East, was commonly intrusted to the management of the Governor-General of India, 'Is the Governor-General of India brother to the King of England?' To this question it was replied, that the Governor-General of India had been the personal friend of his sovereign from early life, but that he was not his brother. The following questions were successively put: 'What difference is there in the ages of the King and Governor-General?'—'Was the Governor-General of India in good health, when you left Bengal?'—'Where do you intend to go, after leaving Siam?'—'Is peace your object in all the countries you mean to visit?'—'Do you intend to visit Hué, the capital of Cochin-China?' After receiving replies to these different questions, His Majesty concluded with the following sentence: 'I am glad to see an

envoy here, from the Governor-General of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to the minister, Surirvangkosa. What we chiefly want from you are fire-arms.'

"His Majesty had no sooner pronounced these last words, than we heard a loud stroke, as if given by a wand against a wainscoting; upon which the curtains on each side of the throne, moved by some concealed agency, closed upon it. This was followed by the same flourish of wind instruments, and the same wild shouts which accompanied our entrance; and the courtiers, falling upon their faces to the ground, made six successive prostrations. We made three obeisances, sitting upright, as had been agreed upon.

"As soon as the curtain was drawn upon His Majesty, the courtiers, for the first time, sat upright, and we were requested to be at our ease,—freely to look round us, and *admire the splendour and magnificence* of the court,—such being nearly the words made use of by the interpreter, in making this communication to us.

"During the audience, a heavy shower had fallen, and it was still raining. His Majesty took this opportunity of presenting us each with a small umbrella, and sent a message to desire that we would view the curiosities of the palace at our leisure. When we arrived at the threshold of the hall of audience, we perceived the court-yard and the roads extremely wet and dirty, from the fall of rain. We naturally demanded our shoes, which we had left at the last gate. This was a favour which could not be yielded, and we were informed that the first princes of the blood could not wear shoes within the sacred enclosure in which we now were. It would have been impolitic to have evinced ill-humour, or attempted remonstrance; and therefore we feigned a cheerful compliance with this inconvenient usage, and proceeded to gratify our curiosity.

"The greatest of the curiosities to which our attention was directed, were the white elephants, well known in Europe to be objects of veneration, if not of worship, in all the countries where the religion of Buddha prevails. The present king has no less than six of these, a larger number than ever was possessed by any Siamese monarch; and this circumstance is considered peculiarly auspicious to his reign. Four of them were shown to us. They approached much nearer to a true white colour than I had expected; they had, indeed, all of them, more or less of a flesh coloured tinge; but this arose from the exposure of the skin, owing to the small quantity of hair with which the elephant is naturally covered. They showed no signs of disease, debility, or imperfection; not less than six feet six inches high. Upon inquiring into their history, we found that they were all either from the kingdom of Lao, or Kamboja, and none from Siam itself, nor from the Malay countries, tributary to it, which last, indeed, had never been known to afford a white elephant.

"The rareness of the white elephant is, no doubt, the origin of the consideration in which it is held. The countries in which it is found, and in which, indeed, the elephant in general exists in greatest perfection, and is most regarded, are those in which the worship of Buddha and the doctrine of the metempsychosis prevail. It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the body of so rare an object as a white elephant, must be the temporary habitation of the soul of some mighty personage, in its progress to perfection. This is the current belief, and accordingly every white elephant has the rank and title of a king, with an appropriate name expressing this dignity—such as the "pure king," the "wonderful king," and so forth. One of the Jesuits, writing upon this subject, informs us with some *naïveté*, that His Majesty of Siam does not ride the white elephant, because he, the white elephant, is as great a king as himself!

"Each of those which we saw, had a separate stable, and no less than ten keepers to wait upon it. The tusks of the males, for there were some of both sexes, were ornamented with gold rings. On the head they had all a gold chain net, and on the back a small embroidered velvet cushion.

"Notwithstanding the veneration with which the white elephants are considered in some respects, it does not seem to be carried so far in Siam, as to emancipate them from occasional correction. Two of them were described as so vicious, that it was considered unsafe to exhibit them. A keeper pricked the foot



of one, in our presence, with a sharp iron, until blood came, although his majesty's only offence was stealing a bunch of bananas; or rather, snatching it before he had received permission!

"In the stables of the white elephants, we were shown two monkeys, whose presence, the keepers insisted, preserved their royal charges from sickness. These were of a perfectly pure white colour, of considerable size, and of the tribe of monkeys with long tails. They were in perfect health, and had been long caught."

The members of the mission were permitted to wander about the metropolis and its environs as they pleased, and whenever they appeared in a crowd, their presence was announced by shouts. The deportment of the people towards them, in the questions with which they were teased, and the examination of the texture of their dress and the trinkets which they wore, resembled altogether the treatment of the deputations of Osages or Winnebagoes in the streets of our cities. The most consequential of our *optimates* cannot be more persuaded of his superiority over the blanketed and painted red-man, than were even the lowest of the Siamese in relation to the British officers and their Hindu retinue. Among the objects of attraction for the embassy, none engaged them more than the religious temples, the construction and furniture of which are particularly mentioned. Every church is not only a place of worship, but a monastery of the *Talapoins* or monks. In one of the temples which Mr. Crawford surveyed, the number of regular Talapoins was five hundred, and of noviciates and pupils seven hundred and fifty;—he was informed, moreover, that it contained no less than fifteen hundred images, great and small, four hundred of which were of gigantic proportions. Although very costly and ostentatious, these structures are not durable. More credit for piety is gained by building and adorning them, than by keeping them in repair. Hence, they multiply inordinately, only to fall into speedy decay and neglect. The British envoy entered them at a period of religious festival, when they were crowded with votaries of all ages and sexes. Instead of the gravity and decorum becoming the scene and occasion, he was scandalized by a wild clamour and indecent levity. The visitors were at one moment stretched before the idols, and at another involved in some frolic, or singing idle catches. One man, for example, lighted his segar at an incense rod; another played a merry air on a flageolet, before an image; the women, without veils, mixed in the crowd, and practised a familiarity with the other sex, which gave colour to the hint of Mr. Crawford's conductor—that the temples were frequently places of assignation. His thirteenth chapter consists in part of a curious and instructive exposition of the Siamese creed, and of *Buddhism* generally—one of the forms of worship which have exerted the most extensive and permanent influence upon the destinies and opinions of mankind. The



moral precepts of the Siamese are comprised in ten commandments, remarkable enough to be repeated:—

“1. Do not slay animals. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not tell lies nor backbite. 5. Do not drink wine. 6. Do not eat after twelve o'clock. 7. Do not frequent plays or public spectacles, nor listen to music. 8. Do not use perfumes, nor wear flowers or other personal ornaments. 9. Do not sleep or recline upon a couch that is above one cubit high. 10. Do not borrow nor be in debt.”

Some four or five of these prohibitions are abundantly sensible; but, according to our author, they are not more efficacious with the Buddhists, than are those of Mahomet with the Turks, according to Dr. Walsh; or those of Brahma with the Hindus, according to Bishop Heber; or a more sacred and unquestionable decalogue, with a very large proportion of a great division of mankind called Christians, according to the experience of every country of Christendom. The impotence of the first and chief of the Siamese commandments, may convey a just idea of the force of all. Mr. Crawford remarks, that the abhorrence of shedding blood, inculcated in theory by the worship of Buddha, has had no influence whatever in humanizing the character of its votaries; for, the history of the Singalese, the Burmans, the Peguans, and Siamese, teems with acts of the utmost cruelty and ferocity:—in a word, there are no countries in Asia, in which human life is held so cheap, as in those in which the shedding of blood is considered sacrilege. In Siam, a strict observance of religious precepts is expected only from the priests. The laity imagine that all duties are performed, if they honour and provide for the clergy, go to church, and keep the usual holydays. Every male in the kingdom, must, at one period or other, enter the priesthood, for however short a time. This step seems to be a sort of necessary spiritual confirmation. The details of the institution are very singular. There are no monastic establishments for females. Almost all the education received by the male children, is in the convents of the Talapoins. Our author encountered among them, a Javanese who had been ordained, and inquired into the reasons of his change of religion. The convert “proceeded at once with considerable vivacity, to a detail of the temporal immunities and advantages of the Siamese priesthood,—such as respect from the people, fine clothes, abundance of food, and, above all, a total exemption from labour.” Mr. Crawford went by invitation into the house of a prior of a monastery. Every thing indicated comfort and plenty. The walls were decorated with Chinese copies, in gilt frames, of English pictures, including portraits of celebrated English beauties. A number of priests were seated on the ground, each with a book before him, placed on a neat reading-desk.

The British party, in one of their excursions on the river, remarked the fort which was occupied by the French at the close

of the seventeenth century, "in the extraordinary attempt made by Louis XIV. for the civil and religious conquest of Siam." Mr. Crawford recurs, in his 13th chapter, to this scheme of proselytism, and we are tempted to quote from him on the subject:—

"The history of this transaction deserves to be briefly adverted to, as well on account of its own singularity, as for the light it throws on the character of the Siamese. The French monarch, in his instructions to the Chevalier Chaumont, his ambassador, told him, that the conversion of the King of Siam was the main object of his mission; and even in his letter to the Siamese monarch himself, urged his adoption of Christianity. The ambassador, true to his instructions, importuned the minister Phaulcon upon the subject. The wily Greek, in reply, communicated the following, real or pretended, but, in either case, curious message, from his Siamese Majesty.

"'But, to reply to the ambassador of France,' continued the king, 'you will tell him from me, that I feel greatly obliged to his royal master, convinced as I am, from his memorial, of the friendship of His Most Christian Majesty. The honour which this great prince has conferred upon me, is already published throughout the East, and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge such civility. But I am truly grieved that my good friend, the King of France, should propose to me a thing so difficult, and of which I have no knowledge. I refer to the wisdom of His Most Christian Majesty, to judge of the importance and difficulty of an affair so delicate, as that of changing a religion received and followed throughout my kingdom two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine years.

"'At the same time, I am surprised that my good friend the King of France, should so strongly interest himself in a matter which regards God alone; in which God himself takes no interest, and which he leaves entirely to our discretion. For, this true God, who has created the heavens and the earth, and all the creatures which we see, and who has given to them natures and dispositions so different, could he not, had he willed it, in giving men bodies and souls of a similar description, inspire them also with an uniformity of sentiment in regard to that religion which they ought to follow, and that worship which was most acceptable to him, ordaining the same religious laws among all nations of the world? Might not this order amongst men, and uniformity in the works of Divine providence, have been introduced with as much ease as the variety which has existed in all ages? Is it not reasonable to believe, that the true God takes as much pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way? Would the beauty and variety which we admire in the natural order of the universe, be less admirable in the spiritual, or less worthy of the wisdom of God? However this may be,' concluded the king, 'since we know that God is absolute master of the world, and are persuaded that nothing is done contrary to his will, I commit my person and my kingdom to the arms of Divine mercy and providence, and with all my heart I pray his eternal wisdom to dispose of them according to his good pleasure.'"

We doubt that *civil* conquest was meditated by Louis or his ministers. In the fourth volume of Flassan's *Diplomatie Française*, there is an abstract of the diplomatic intercourse, from the official reports. In 1681, the King of Siam, informed of the victories of the *Grand Monarque*, deputed three ambassadors to him, on board of a French ship, which was never heard of afterwards. In 1684, he sent, on the same errand, two dignitaries of the first rank, who merely had an audience of the two principal ministers of Louis; but the French missionary who accompanied them, persuaded the king to send an ambassador in return, by the gratuitous assurance that the Siamese so-

vereign intended to embrace Christianity. The French envoy, (Le Chevalier de Chaumont,) reached his destination in 1685, was presented at court with the utmost eclat, addressed the throne in a studied harangue, and delivered a letter from Louis, who thanked his royal brother for the protection he had granted to the Christian bishops, and invited him to learn the mysteries of the Christian religion. A civil, but unmeaning reply was given; conferences were held between the French envoy and the Greek vizier; and rich presents interchanged. Finally, a treaty was signed, by which the missionaries obtained liberty to preach the Christian faith, and impunity for their proselytes. Two Siamese ambassadors accompanied the Chevalier de Chaumont on his return, in 1686. They had a splendid audience of Louis, and complimented him magnificently on his vast conquests and illustrious qualities. To commemorate this mission, which delighted his vanity, he caused a medal to be struck, bearing the legend *Fama virtutis*, and the exergue *Oratores regis Siam*, 1686. He is represented on his throne, with the Siamese ambassadors at his feet. The revolution which occurred in Siam in 1688, extinguished the treaty and the hopes of the French court. A zealous Buddhist rebelled and seized the throne on the death of Louis's ally; condemned the brothers of his royal predecessor to be thrust into *velvet* sacks, and beaten to death with clubs of *odoriferous wood*, in compliment to their quality; and banished from the kingdom, for a time, all the French and English intruders.

There is still a Catholic bishopric of Siam. Mr. Crawford had an interview with the titular, who was a native of Avignon, in France, and had lived either in Siam or Cochin-China, for thirty-four years; and most of this long period, without a European nearer to him than a thousand miles. At the age of sixty, he retained much of the characteristic sprightliness of his nation. From him, the envoy learned that the Catholics of Siam amounted to three thousand; that the Siamese treated with ridicule the notion of their having any equals, especially among the European races; that they nevertheless had very serious apprehensions of the British power, but knew nothing of the French of the present day. A native Christian priest, who was sent with the British strangers to show them a new Catholic chapel, when asked what objections the Siamese had against the Catholic religion, answered,—“they consider it too difficult and troublesome a road to heaven.” The bishop's immediate predecessor fell into an odd quarrel with the Chinese adventurer, who mounted the throne of Siam upon the expulsion of the Burman invaders, in 1769. His majesty conceived, that, by intense devotion, he might earn the gift of *flying*, and thus be enabled to reach heaven by a sort of short cut, as a bird soars to the sky.



He sent for the priests of his own god Guatama, who at once declared the project to be quite feasible. The bishop, and the other Christian clergy, were then summoned, and asked their opinions. They honestly endeavoured to reason the supreme out of his delusion, arguing, that flying was incompatible with the form of the human body. For this heterodox piece of philosophy, the prelate and his wisecracks received each a hundred blows of the bamboo, and were driven into exile. Among the acquaintance whom the envoy formed, none appears to us more worthy of being signalized, than the individual mentioned in the following passage of the Journal :—

"*July 10th.*—I had, in the course of this afternoon, a visit from a person of singular modesty and intelligence, Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, the descendant of a Portuguese Christian of Kamboja. This gentleman holds a high Siamese title, and a post of considerable importance. Considering his means and situation, his acquirements were remarkable; for, he not only spoke and wrote the Siamese, Kambojan, and Portuguese languages, with facility, but also spoke and wrote Latin with considerable propriety. We found, indeed, a smattering of Latin very frequent among the Portuguese interpreters at Bang-kok, but Señor Ribeiro was the only individual who made any pretence to speak it with accuracy. He informed us, that he was the descendant of a person of the same name, who settled in Kamboja in the year 1685. His lady's genealogy, however, interested us more than his own. She was the lineal descendant of an Englishman of the name of Charles Lister, a merchant, who settled in Kamboja, in the year 1701, and who had acquired some reputation at the Court, by making pretence to some knowledge in medicine. Charles Lister had come immediately from Madras, and brought with him his sister. This lady espoused a Portuguese of Kamboja, by whom she had a son who took her own name. Her grandson, of this name, also, in the revolutions of the kingdom of Kamboja, found his way to Siam; and here, like his great uncle, practising the healing art, rose to the station of maha-pet, or first physician to the king. The son of this individual, Cajitanus Lister, is at present the physician, and at the same time the minister and confidential adviser of the present king of Kamboja. His sister is the wife of the subject of this short notice."

A certain number of Mr. Crawford's pages, are of course allotted to the story of his frequent and long political discussions with the Siamese minister of state, and the prince royal. These negotiators were so suspicious and wary, that no progress could be made in the British project of a reduction of duties and a free commercial intercourse. When it was explained to the prince, that the revenue of Ceylon, although considerable, was inadequate to the maintenance of the island, and that it was necessary to remit large sums from England for this purpose, he immediately said,—“If this be the case, it can be of no use to you; and for what purpose was it conquered, and is it now retained?” A member of the British mission told the minister of state, emphatically, that Great Britain was at peace with all the world, and then descanted on the strength and numbers of the British navy. The Siamese politician coolly observed,—“If you are at peace with all the world, why do you keep up so great a navy as that which you now describe?” In answer to the demand of secu-



rity for the persons and property of the British subjects, it was distinctly stated, that the King of Siam would make no alteration in the established laws of the country, in favour of strangers. An interpreter of the mission, reported the following dialogue between him and a confidential friend of the minister of state. The latter observed, that "the English were a dangerous people to have any connexion with, for they were not only the ablest, but the most ambitious, of the European nations who frequented the East." The interpreter replied, "it is impossible the English can have any ambitious views on Siam; for, what could they, who have so much already, and are accustomed to convenient countries, do with such a one as yours, in which there are neither roads nor bridges, and where you are ankle-deep in mire at every step?" The Siamese rejoined,—“do not speak so; these people are clever and active, and the country would not be long in their possession, before they would make it such that you might sleep in the streets and rice fields.” All that could be obtained, ultimately, from the government, was comprised in the subjoined official document:—

“The governor of Bengal commanded Mr. Crawford to come to Siam, to open a way to friendship and commerce, and to request permission for English ships to trade to this capital, buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and paying duties as heretofore. The Pia Praliklang, by authority of his Majesty, directs me, in consequence, to express his satisfaction at the contents of the letter of the governor of Bengal, and to address a letter to Mr. Crawford in the form of an agreement, to say, that if English merchant ships come to the port of the capital, as soon as they are anchored, the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and the duties and charges shall not be more than heretofore, nor afterwards be raised. Let the English merchants come to Siam to sell and buy, in conformity to this agreement.”

The king of Siam is absolute master of the lives and fortunes of some millions of people. He is “the Sacred Lord of *heads*, infallible and infinitely powerful.” He has no distinctive name, as a sublime essence. The dust of his golden feet honours the noblest crown upon which it may fall. The monarch whom Mr. Crawford saw, did not embroider petticoats, but employed himself daily in gilding images for the temple. When he “flew into an ungovernable passion” about the disappearance of some small globe lamps, the princes and ministers disappeared also, to escape the bastinado. His father, thirty-six hours after the demise of his predecessor, put to death one hundred and seventeen chiefs and other persons suspected of being unfavourable to his pretensions to the throne. One of the fundamental laws is a universal conscription, by which the labour and strength of the adult male population are placed at the disposal of the government, whether for common labour, or for military or menial service. All are enrolled, and held liable, (the Talapoins excepted, fifty thousand in number,) to serve the state for four months in each year. The

king is the great merchant, and the royal monopolies embrace the most valuable products. The same chiefs who are charged with the administration of the military, civil, and fiscal departments, are the only judges and magistrates. The bamboo is applied in the punishment of all offences. For sedition and treason, the culprits are trodden to death by elephants, or devoured by tigers. It is, on the whole, a "very pretty despotism"—a fine specimen of the political march of the oriental intellect. The excesses of the government keep down the number of labourers, and, in this way, contribute to render their condition better than might be expected from its arbitrary character. In general, the climate of Siam is salubrious, and the soil fertile; but the population is computed to be only at the rate of fourteen or fifteen inhabitants to the square mile. The checks are chiefly political and moral; the only material ones from disease, are the small-pox and cholera morbus. Vaccination has been introduced. Dreadful havoc was made by cholera morbus, in 1820, when it infested Siam, after having ravaged Hindustan for three years. Of this malady, Mr. Crawfurd remarks that it is by far the most destructive which has ever afflicted the human race. It extended from Arabia to China, over ninety degrees of longitude, and from Java to the Himalaya mountains, embracing forty degrees of latitude:—almost all the civilized and populous nations of tropical Asia were included in its fell sweep; several millions were its victims. A Chinese insisted, in conversation with our author, that, as the wars between the principal nations had then ceased, the pestilence was a necessary arrangement of nature for keeping population down to the level of subsistence. He had not, however, studied the book of Malthus.

The area of the Siamese empire is estimated at one hundred and ninety thousand geographical miles. The elephant is found in every division of it, and attains there his greatest bulk. In all parts, except the metropolis, this animal is freely used both for riding and bearing burdens. *Lanchang*, the capital of Lao, takes its name from the number of elephants which are used by its inhabitants, the word in the Siamese language meaning the place of *ten millions of elephants*. A native of that town informed Mr. Crawfurd, that they were employed for many domestic purposes—"even," he added, "for carrying women and fire wood." Elephant-hunters shoot the males, chiefly on account of their tusks. The chase is laborious, and not without danger. Ivory is a royal monopoly. The *Rhinoceros* exists in unusual numbers in Siam. The Chinese ascribe medical virtues to the horn, and the skin brings, weight for weight, nearly double the price of any other hide. That portion of Kamboja, which now belongs to Siam, and some contiguous tracts of the Siamese territory, afford the well-known medicine and pigment, *gam-*

*hoge*; and our author supposes that they are the only parts of the world in which it is produced. The gum is obtained from a species of *Garcenia*, to which it gives name,—as our maple sugar is, by making incision in the bark of the forest trees, from which it exudes, and is collected in vessels suspended or affixed to them. In these it soon takes a concrete form, and is fit for the market without further preparation. The fruits of Siam Mr. Crawford pronounces to be excellent, and superior, indeed, to those of all other parts of India. The most exquisite are the mango, the mangustin, the orange, the duriar, the lichi, and the pine apple. The best of them are of exotic origin. The whole neighbourhood of Bang-kok, the metropolis, is one forest of fruit trees. Upon the “fresh lusciousness” of their produce, the British embassy feasted from April to July.

On the 16th July, the embassy re-embarked, on the voyage to Cochin-China, which they reached in August. The first impressions of the British were more favourable than those of our countryman White and his companions, and to the disadvantage of the Siamese in the comparison. In the outset, the Cochin-Chinese were chiefly anxious, as the Siamese had been, to ascertain whether the mission came from the King of England, or from the Governor-General of India. Neither nation was able to comprehend that sovereign or substantial power could be communicated to a company of merchants, or to conceive the Governor-General as other or less than the king of England's *brother*. Many tedious and ludicrous ceremonies were to be endured, before the party could proceed from the city of Saigon to the capital. Saigon is about fifty miles from the sea, and the principal seat of Cochin-Chinese commerce. Lieutenant White has furnished a more interesting and minute account of it than Mr. Crawford. Among the entertainments provided for the British, were the following:—

“After tea was served to us, we were invited to be present at an elephant and tiger fight; and for this purpose mounted our elephants, and repaired to the glacis of the fort, where the combat was to take place. The Governor went out at another gate, and arrived at the place before us in his palanquin. When the hall broke up, a herald or crier announced the event. With the exception of this ceremony, great propriety and decorum was observed throughout the audience. The exhibition made by the herald, was truly barbarous. He threw himself backward, projecting his abdomen, and putting his hands to his sides, and in this absurd attitude uttered several loud and long yells. The tiger had been exhibited in front of the hall, and was driven to the spot, on a hurdle. A great concourse of people had assembled to witness the exhibition. The tiger was secured to a stake, by a rope tied around his loins, about thirty yards long. The mouth of the unfortunate animal was sewn up, and his nails pulled out. He was of large size, and extremely active. No less than forty-six elephants, all males of great size, were seen drawn out in line. One at a time was brought to attack the tiger. The first elephant advanced, to all appearance with a great show of courage, and we thought from his determined look that he would certainly have dispatched his antagonist in an instant. At the first effort, he raised the tiger upon his tusks to a considerable height, and threw him to the distance of at least twenty



ty feet. Notwithstanding this, the tiger rallied, and sprang upon the elephant's trunk and head, up to the very keeper, who was upon his neck. The elephant took alarm, wheeled about, and ran off, pursued by the tiger as far as the rope would allow him. The fugitive, although not hurt, roared most piteously, and no effort could bring him back to the charge. A little after this, we saw a man brought up to the Governor, bound with cords, and dragged into his presence by two officers. This was the conductor of the recreant elephant. A hundred strokes of the bamboo, were ordered to be inflicted upon him on the spot. For this purpose he was thrown on his face upon the ground, and secured by one man sitting astride upon his neck and shoulders, and by another sitting upon his feet, a succession of executioners inflicting the punishment. When it was over, two men carried off the sufferer by the head and heels, apparently quite insensible. While this outrage was perpetrating, the Governor coolly viewed the combat of the tiger and elephant, as if nothing else particular had been going forward. Ten or twelve elephants were brought up in succession to attack the tiger, which was killed at last merely by the astonishing falls he received when tossed off the tusks of the elephant. The prodigious strength of these animals was far beyond any thing which I could have supposed. Some of them tossed the tiger to a distance of at least thirty feet, after he was nearly lifeless, and could offer no resistance. We could not reflect, without horror, that these very individual animals were the same that have for forty years executed the sentence of the law upon the many malefactors condemned to death. Upon these occasions, a single toss, such as I have described, is always, I am told, sufficient to destroy life.

"After the tiger fight, we had a mock battle, the intention of which was to represent elephants charging an intrenchment. A sort of *chevaux de frise* was erected to the extent of forty or fifty yards, made of very frail materials. Upon this was placed a quantity of dry grass, whilst a show was made of defending it, by a number of spearmen placed behind. As soon as the grass was set on fire, a number of squibs and crackers were let off, flags were waved in great numbers, drums beat, and a single piece of artillery began to play. The elephants were now encouraged to charge; but they displayed their usual timidity, and it was not until the fire was nearly extinguished, and the materials of the *chevaux de frise* almost consumed, that a few of the boldest could be forced to pass through."

Our countryman, White, was especially struck at Saigun with the general agency of the women as merchants and brokers. The British envoy notes, that the females throughout Cochin-China, perform a large share of such labour as in other countries belongs to the male sex only. They cultivate the earth, build the cottages, navigate the river-craft, transplant the rice, manufacture the silk and cotton stuffs, carry heavy burdens, and are the shop-keepers and money changers. In most of these pursuits, not only are they considered more expert and intelligent than the men, but, what Mr. Crawford believes to be unknown elsewhere, their labour is generally of equal value. The observation is made in Cochin-China itself, that the labour of the women supports the men—a circumstance which does not increase their respect or fondness for husbands who still treat them either with contemptuous neglect or barbarous rigour. While the ship of the British mission lay at Candyu, one of the gentlemen saw in the open street, a young woman held down on her face on the ground, while her husband inflicted at least fifty blows of a ratan, without exciting attention among the people. Barrow says, in his



Voyage to Cochin-China,—“The activity and industry of the women are so unabating, their employment so varied, and the fatigue which they undergo, so harassing, that their countrymen apply to them the same proverbial expression which we confer on a cat, viz.—“that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing.” These circumstances certainly imply a sad condition; yet, it may be deemed preferable on the whole, to that of being immured as the sex are in most countries of western Asia. At the town of Saigun, the river Don-nai forms many branches and canals, which are usually crossed in ferry-boats. The women alone pay; all the men, under pretext of being the king’s servants, pass freight free. So, with the ferries elsewhere. The sex can assert, however, the privileges which are common. In Cochin-China, when one person charges another with an offence, he or she has only to seize the other by the waistband, and the law expects that the accused shall at once submit to this species of arrest. The British embassy saw females grasping lustily in this way, men whom they charged with depredations on their property. It is a necessary advantage for them, that the Chinese fashion of *little feet* is unknown in their country. Most of their occupations exact a full pedestrial power. Barrow, whom we have just quoted, is so ungallant as to report, that by their bustling about with naked feet, these become unusually large and expanded. None of the European travellers acknowledge either the beauty or purity of the sex in Cochin-China.

We shall now proceed with the embassy to Hué, the capital of the kingdom, for which they embarked at Touran, in galleys, or regular war boats, furnished by the government. These galleys are ninety feet long, but very narrow, strongly built, rigged with two lug sails, and armed each, with five swivels, “as handsomely cast and modelled as any European cannon.” The rowers, forty in number, plied incessantly, and in perfect unison—an officer beating time, by striking against each other two cylindrical sticks of sonorous wood, and cheering the crew with a song. A royal galley met the embassy in the harbour, with an invitation to land and take possession of the house which had been selected for their accommodation. It was spacious and convenient, but its entrances were stoccaded with bamboos, and guarded by one hundred men. The British visitors found themselves for some days close prisoners, while, however, as a mark of respect, all persons on horseback were ordered to dismount as they passed the dwelling; and it was expressly forbidden to any one, to stand and gaze at the strangers from the street. These prohibitions begot for Mr. Crawford, unequivocal evidence of the fact, that the Cochin-Chinese, like the Siamese, are “a well-flogged nation.” The bastinado was liberally applied to delinquent passen-

gers; the first morning, seven soldiers of the guard, who neglected to enforce the orders, received each fifteen strokes. They threw themselves down on their faces, took the blows as mere matter of course, and duly made, when they rose, a low and penitential obeisance to the officer who directed the punishment. Dr. Clarke's gibe in reference to Russia, that from morning until night, the cudgel has no respite in any part of the empire, could be applied, with more propriety, to the two countries under our survey. Another more ludicrous example, related by Mr. Crawford, will suffice. While he was entering the courtyard of the Cochin-Chinese minister of state, on a visit, he saw a company of comedians who had not been perfect in their parts, or had failed to please the great man, undergoing the universal panacea for offences—the bamboo. The first object that caught his attention, was the hero of the drama, stretched on the ground, and suffering flagellation in his full theatrical costume. The inferior characters received their share, in due course; as the envoy discovered, from hearing their cries, while he sat in diplomatic conference with the minister. The influence of the bamboo discipline upon the merits of the actors, may be even considerable. Voltaire, in adverting to the famous horn music, does not forget to tell, that the Russian musicians were sometimes perfected in a similar mode. It is related in both Lieutenant White's History, and this Journal, that the Cochin-Chinese are remarkably fond of dramatic entertainments. Barrow has minutely described the representation of an opera, which he witnessed. At Touran, as in China, he invariably found the actors busily engaged in the performance, at all hours of the day, proceeding apparently with as much ardour when no spectators were present, as when they were. Being hired for the day, a crowded or a thin audience made no difference to these players. No entrance money is ever expected. According to Lieutenant White, their draperies are of the most fantastic character, and a clown or merry Andrew is an indispensable concomitant. The Lieutenant was delighted with the singing.

Mr. Crawford was admitted speedily to the honour of an interview with the chief minister, the Mandarin of Elephants, "a little lively old man, dressed in a rich habit of orange-coloured silk, covered with flowers and devices." Two French gentlemen, who had the rank of Mandarins at court, sat on each side of him. Assurance was given by the minister, that English ships would be admitted freely to trade in the king's dominions; and alluding to the imposts upon foreign commerce, he observed,—“In England, imposts are no doubt levied on Foreign Commerce, as here; every nation has a right to do this, for its own benefit.” Mr. Crawford was urgent for an audience of the king. The minister thought that it could not be granted consistently with eti-

quette; and when pressed with various reasons, said, with a smile of national vanity,—“it is natural enough, that you should employ every expedient in your power to attain the honour of being presented to so great a monarch.” The Cochin-Chinese place themselves much above the Europeans in the scale of civilization; or rather, firmly believe themselves, and the Chinese from whom they are descended, to be the only civilized people in the world. During the ministerial audience—which lasted four hours—a handsome repast of meat, fruits, and wine, was served to the gentlemen of the embassy, and a Chinese dance represented for their amusement. At another entertainment, one of the dainties consisted of three bowls of hatched eggs. When the British gentlemen expressed some surprise at this portion of the feast, one of their Cochin-Chinese attendants observed, with much *naïveté*, that hatched eggs formed a delicacy beyond the reach of the poor, and only adapted for persons of distinction. Mr. Crawford found, on inquiry, that they cost thirty per cent. more in the market than fresh ones;—that when invitations were sent out for grand entertainments, it was the practice to set the hens to hatch, and that about the tenth or twelfth day, the eggs were considered as ripe, and exactly in the state most agreeable to the palate of an epicure,—a *friand* of the first order. The same people who prefer this food, have a loathing for milk.

Hué, the metropolis, is described in the Journal, as, perhaps, the only city in the East, the neighbourhood of which has good roads, good bridges, and canals. The highways are straight, broad, and well-constructed; the stone and wooden bridges extremely neat and serviceable; and the canals deep and regular, and answering the double purpose of irrigation and navigation. About the year 1820, a canal was commenced from Que-dong, on the western shore of the great river of Kamboja, to Athien, on the coast of the gulf of Siam. Twenty thousand Cochin-Chinese, and ten thousand Kambojans, were employed on the work. No provision was made for supplying the workmen with water for themselves, so that ten thousand of them perished from thirst, hard labour, or disease. In a beautifully romantic part of the mountains, and about ten leagues to the north of the capital, the late king constructed a splendid mausoleum, and laid out extensive gardens, as a place of interment for himself and his favourite queen. In the course of this magnificent enterprise, hills were levelled, mounds thrown across from one hill to another, canals and tanks dug, and spacious roads completed. When the British embassy solicited permission to visit the spot, they were politely informed, that the king was always reluctant to permit the visits of strangers, whose presence, he said, “*might trouble the repose of the spirits of his ancestors.*” But the strangers were rather courted to survey the still more splendid and extra-



ordinary work, the new fortification, or walled city, to which, Mr. Crawfurd supposes there is nothing parallel in the East. We shall quote the whole of his description, as quite worthy of the space which it may occupy :—

“The new city, which is of a quadrangular form, is completely insulated, having the river on two sides of it, and a spacious canal of from thirty to forty yards broad on the other two. The circumference of the walls, or of the city, which is the same thing, is upwards of five miles. The form of the fortification is nearly an equilateral quadrangle; each face measuring eleven hundred and eighty toises. The late king himself, was the engineer who formed the plan, under the instructions and advice, however, of the French officers in his service, but whose personal assistance he had lost, before he commenced the undertaking, in the year 1805. This singular man proves to have been no mean proficient in this branch of European military science; for the works, as far as we could judge, are planned and constructed on technical rules, and the materials and workmanship are not inferior to the design. The fortress has a regular and beautiful glacis, extending from the river or canal to the ditch; a covert way all around, and a ditch which is thirty yards broad, with from four to five feet water in it, all through. The rampart is built of hard earth, cased on the outside with bricks. Each angle is flanked by four bastions, intended to mount thirty-six guns a piece, some in embrasures, and some in *barbette*. To each face there are also four arched gateways of solid masonry, to which the approach across the ditch is by handsome arched stone bridges. The area inside is laid out into regular and spacious streets, at right angles to each other. A handsome and broad canal forms a communication between the river and the fortress, and within, is distributed by various branches, so as to communicate with the palace, the arsenal, the granaries, and other public edifices. By this channel the taxes and tributes are brought from the provinces, and conducted at once to the very doors of the palace or magazines. The palace is situated within a strong citadel, consisting of two distinct walls, or ramparts. Within this we were not invited: but the roof of the palace itself was distinguishable by its yellow colour; and one handsome temple, consecrated to the royal ancestors of the king, was also noticed. This last, which has no priests attached to it, was the only place of worship within the new city.

“In the whole of this extensive fortification, there is scarcely any thing slovenly, barbarous, or incomplete in design. Perhaps the only exceptions are the Chinese umbrella-shaped towers over the gates, and the embrasures of one or two of the bastions finished by his present Majesty, and in which he has taken it into his head, to invert the rule of science and common sense, by making the embrasures to slope inwards instead of outwards. The banks of the river and canal forming the base of the glacis, are not only regularly sloped down every where; but wherever the work is completed, for it is still unfinished in a few situations, they are cased from the foundation, with a face of solid masonry. The canal within the walls is executed in the same perfect and workmanlike manner; and the bridges which are thrown over it, have not only neat stone balustrades, but are paved all over with marble brought from Tonquin.

“The first object in the interior to which our curiosity was particularly pointed, was the public granaries. These form ranges of enormous length, in regular order, and are full of corn, being said to contain many years’ consumption for the city. It has been the practice of the late and present king, to add two or three ranges of granaries every year to the number. The pernicious custom of hoarding grain against years of scarcity, and the unavoidable effect of which is to aggravate, or even to create, the evil it is intended to obviate, seems to be a received and popular maxim of Cochin-Chinese government. It has its use in maintaining the tyranny of a despotic government.

“The barracks were the next object pointed out to us, and here we found the troops drawn out. These buildings are excellent, and, in point of arrangement and cleanliness, would do no discredit to the best organized army in Europe. They are extensive, and surround the whole of the outer part of the cita-



del. We were informed that from twelve to thirteen thousand troops were constantly stationed at the capital.

"The most extraordinary spectacle, was still to be exhibited—the arsenal. A violent fall of rain, and night coming on, prevented us from inspecting the whole of this; but what we did see, was more than sufficient to excite our surprise and gratify our curiosity. The iron cannon were first pointed out to us, consisting of an extraordinary collection of old ship-guns of various European nations—French, English, Dutch, and Portuguese. These were objects of little curiosity, compared with the brass ordnance, the balls, and shells, all manufactured in Cochin-China, by native workmen, from materials supplied by Tonquin, and after French models. The ordnance consisted of cannon, howitzers, and mortars. The carriages were all constructed, finished, and painted, as substantially and neatly as if they had been manufactured at Woolwich or Fort William, and the field carriages especially, were singularly neat and handsome. The cannon are of various calibres, from four to sixty-eight pounders, with a large proportion of eighteen pounders. Among them were nine remarkable guns, cast by the late king; these carry each a ball weighing seventy Chinese catties, or, in other words, are ninety-three pounders; they are as handsomely modelled, and as well founded, as any of the rest, and placed upon highly ornamented carriages. On these remarkable pieces of ordnance, is inscribed the name of the late king, Talung, and the day and year in which they were cast. The king used to say, that these would prove the most durable monuments of his reign—no great compliment to his administration.

"The art of casting good brass cannon, under the direction of Europeans, appears to have been long known in this part of the world; for, among the cannon in the arsenal, were a good number of very well founded ordnance, apparently of the size of long nine pounders, as old as the years 1664 and 1665. These had an inscription in the Portuguese language, importing that they were cast in Cochin-China, or Kamboja, and bearing the dates in question, with the name of the artist. Although very inferior indeed to those recently cast under the direction of the French, still they were very good specimens of workmanship. The balls and shells in the arsenal throughout, were neatly piled up, and arranged in the European method: the gun carriages were all painted, and in short, the arsenal was in the most perfect and complete order in all its organization.

"The chief of the artillery had been directed to exhibit the whole of it to us, and we found him waiting for us, on our arrival. This was one of the old warriors of the late king, a venerable and fine-looking old man, habited in a rich suit of velvet. Besides being chief of the arsenal and artillery, this Master-General of the ordnance, was also intendant of the household, and, in this last situation, according to all accounts, was charged with certain details scarcely compatible with his military character. It was his business, for example, to superintend the royal kitchen, and to make a registry of all the pregnancies and births within the seraglio, that all possible care might be taken to exclude illegitimacy from its sacred enclosures.

"The whole of the cannon within the fortified city, are not only raised on platforms to protect the carriages from damp, but placed, for security against the weather, in the arsenal; and there is not one mounted upon the works, with the exception of a few upon the walls of the citadel. The cannon, it is said, which are required for the sixteen bastions, amount to five hundred and seventy-six, and, for the whole of the works, the requisite number is about eight hundred. I do not know what the exact number in the arsenal is, but it probably far exceeds this amount.

"The powder magazine is constructed with the same intelligence, as the rest of the works; it is fenced by a strong wall, and has a broad and deep ditch completely surrounding it. Close to it is an extensive parade, for the exercise of the troops.

"It is hardly necessary to say, that, against an Asiatic enemy, this fortification is impregnable; its great fault is its immense extent. I presume, it would require an army of 50,000 men at least, to defend it,—a force which would be far more effectually employed in harassing an European enemy, (the only enemy

to be apprehended,) by the common desultory modes of warfare, which it is alone safe for an Asiatic enemy, to oppose to a disciplined army.

"An European force, either by making regular approaches, or by a bombardment, could not fail to render itself soon master of the place; and this occurrence, by putting it in possession of the treasures, the granaries, and principal arsenal of the kingdom,—by destroying the principal army, and thus cutting off all the resources of the government, would be naturally equivalent to conquering the kingdom at a single blow. We did not reach our residence till eight o'clock at night,—well drenched and fatigued, but highly gratified at the novel and striking scene which we had witnessed."

The king inquired of the French Mandarins, what opinions the British visitors had expressed respecting the new fortifications, and other public works; and was rejoiced, when he learned that they had manifested great surprise and admiration at all they saw. Reasons of state, however, forbade the gratification of his curiosity and theirs, by means of an audience. This favour was inflexibly denied, on the grounds that their errand was commercial, and that they came from a mere deputy or viceroy. The same motives were alleged for refusing to accept the presents sent for his Majesty, by the governor-general. Among the real dissuasives, were the jealousy and apprehension which the extensive conquests of the British in India had excited among the Cochin-Chinese, as well as the other nations of the farther East. Presents were admitted from the governor-general, in 1805, but it happened that one of the collection was a series of prints, representing the capture of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo Sultan, at the sight of which the monarch of Cochin-China exclaimed,—“The Governor-General of India wishes to intimidate me, by exhibiting to me the fate of this Indian Prince.” Mr. Gibson, an Englishman, who went to Cochin-China in 1823, as ambassador from his Burmese Majesty, relates, that the Governor-General at Saigon, dwelt much upon the British designs of aggrandizement in the Eastern seas:—

“His Excellency, the Governor,” adds the Anglo-Burmese negotiator, “seemed very well informed respecting the results of the wars of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and particularly respecting the battle of Waterloo, and his death at St. Helena. He lamented the misfortunes of that great man, and explained to the Mandarins who were round him, that the only fault he found in him, was his vast ambition. He added, that, after bringing the world into confusion, by long wars, he had finally done nothing for the good of the French nation. He ended his conversation by praising the British, but said, that they, too, were *over-ambitious*.”

Mr. Crawford, on his side, declined to take charge of any presents from the king, for his own principal—a circumstance which alarmed the pride of the Court, and occasioned the exercise of deep negotiation and finesse. One of the articles intended for the governor-general, as tokens of his Majesty's friendship, was cinnamon, of the first quality; with regard to which, the envoy remarks, that it is reserved exclusively for his Majesty; that it is death for a subject to trade in this commodity; and that the

value put upon it, is not less than twenty dollars the tael, or three hundred and twenty dollars the catty, of one and one third pound avoirdupois. The official conferences and social intercourse of the envoy with the Mandarins, are marked by interesting anecdotes and curious pictures. Among the points on which his new acquaintance were most anxious for information, and which proved inexplicable, were the reasons of the long war between Great Britain and France, and the causes of the separation of the former from the Americans, who, they observed, were in look, manners, and language, the same as the English. They involved the Americans, we fear, in their general opinion, that "the men with red hair and white teeth," (that is, the Europeans,) "are as naturally prone to war and depredation as tigers."

His Majesty signified, from time to time, his gracious remembrance of the legation, by sending them ready dressed dinners, which were escorted by military guards, and military and civil Mandarins of high rank, in their gorgeous robes of ceremony. Each Mandarin bore on the breast of his gown the badge of his order—that of a military chief, was a *boar*; of a man of letters, a *stork*. At one of the entertainments, the prime-minister spoke familiarly of his private affairs. He mentioned that he had in all fifty-four children, thirty-six of whom were living in his house. The inferior Mandarins, when admitted, "did great justice to the feasts." It is recorded in the Journal, that the Cochin-Chinese eat with chop-sticks; that the bowl in which the viands are contained, is applied to the very mouth, and the food dexterously tossed in, in immense quantities, and with a kind of beggarly scramble, as if the guest was fearful that some part of it might be snatched from him. The common salutation is to bow to the ground five times to the king; four times to persons next in rank to him; three times to persons in the third rank, and so forth. Our author saw twelve or fourteen Mandarins, simultaneously prostrating themselves thus before a governor. Cock-fighting is one of the sports which the embassy could always command; the Cochin-Chinese being "great cock-fighters." The governor of Saigun fought a main regularly twice a month, for which he distributed formal invitations. The lower orders of these people seemed to Mr. Crawford to be "vain, cheerful, good-humoured, obliging, and civil," beyond any other Asiatics whom he had known: but the higher classes, we should infer from his pages, are rapacious, tyrannical, and corrupt, though extremely shrewd, and by no means deficient in information and refinement of demeanour. A Chinese merchant of respectability, resident among them, observed to our author, that he never had a transaction with them, *without feeling his neck the smaller for it*; meaning, that he never thought his life altogether safe on such occasions.



The extreme length of the kingdom of Cochin-China, is estimated at above nine hundred miles ; the breadth is unequal, varying from sixty to one hundred and eighty miles. Parts of it are highly cultivated. The British embassy coasted the province of Fu-yin, the finest of the kingdom, and saw culture all the way from the sea side to the tops of the mountains, and the country every where interspersed with houses and cottages, giving to the whole the appearance of one extensive garden. The capital of Cochin-China, *Hué*, has between fifty and sixty thousand inhabitants, the greater part of whom occupy "poor structures of thatch and bamboo." Mr. Crawford does not estimate the population of the whole kingdom at more than five millions, notwithstanding that some of the French writers have raised it to fifteen or twenty. Lieutenant White adopts the mean of eight millions. *Tonquin* is the largest city of the empire, being thrice the size of *Hué*. The Christian religion was introduced into Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Kamboja, about the year 1624, by the Portuguese Jesuits from Macao, and after the persecution and massacre of the Portuguese in Japan. It was afterwards zealously fostered by French missionaries. According to information given to our author, the number of Christians in the viceroyalty of Tonquin, is three hundred thousand ; in that of Kamboja, twenty-five thousand ; and in Cochin-China proper, one hundred thousand. When Mr. Crawford was there, the government neither encouraged nor persecuted Christianity. For many years, it had not made any sensible progress. The Christians are among the poorest and most abject part of the population.

Maize is produced in Cochin-China in considerable quantity, as an article of food. Cotton is raised also throughout the country, and exported in Chinese junks. Mr. Crawford was informed by the Chinese, that the quality is so much superior to that of Bengal, that, in the market of Canton, it is worth twenty per cent. more. The Cochin tea-plant is inferior to that of China. Persons of condition drink the latter alone.

This people are lower in stature than any other of Central Asia, but strong and well-turned, active and hardy. The women, though not attractive, are much fairer and less ugly than the men. They have made progress in the useful arts, and possess a singular skill in imitation ; a faculty which is said to be common to semi-barbarous nations, and which we may suppose to be intended by Providence to advance them in civilization, as it contributes to the improvement of all individuals in their youth. Our author, when Resident of Singapore, in 1823, after his mission, sent to the Minister of Elephants at *Hué*, a highly finished double-barrelled English fowling piece. In the course of a fortnight, it was returned, along with another double-barrelled



gun, fabricated, within that short period, in the king's arsenal. The imitation was so perfect, that it was very difficult, at first sight, to distinguish the copy from the model.

The Cochin-Chinese have no literature and no written character of their own, and receive all their books from the Chinese. According to a French officer, M. Chaigneau, who long resided among them, the philosophy of Confucius, and for a few, medicine, are the objects of continual study. The physicians are divided between two theories; the one party employing only stimulants, and the other refrigerants. Mr. Crawford found, that in Cochin-China, there was nothing of the slightest moment done in public matters, without writing; whereas, at Siam, it was impossible to get the officers of government to commit a single sentence to paper, on almost any subject. Nearly all the works in the popular language, to which the Siamese attach value, are written on slips of palm-leaf, with an iron style. These slips are from a foot to a foot and a half long. They are tied up in small bundles, and generally richly gilt, forming thus a volume, which is carefully placed in an envelope of silk or cotton cloth. Most of the Siamese learn to read and write, in their imperfect way. They compose romances even longer than the novels of Richardson. Their favourite historical novel is comprised in about four hundred cantos or parts, and, when dramatised, takes up six weeks in the acting. They have no prepared dialogues for their dramatic entertainments. The plays are founded on the romances, and the players left to excogitate the dialogue from the subject, having a prompter near, who refreshes their memories from the written volume which he holds in his hand. At the Cochin-Chinese court, there is a regular historiographer; so at the Siamese, a state-chronologist records all public events and discussions. Our author refers to the remarkable accuracy of pronunciation attained by the Siamese and other Eastern nations, and the copiousness and perfection of their alphabetic systems, as affording a strong contrast with the paucity and vagueness of their ideas. It would seem, he adds, as if they studiously set more value on sound than sense. Among the dignitaries, or *haut ton*, to convey meaning clearly or fully, is deemed rustic and *bourgeois*.—They deal in obscure hints, brief ambiguities, and avoid all strong metaphors and hyberbolical forms of expression. We do not know how far the use of tobacco may be received as evidence of civilization, but the Cochin-Chinese—particularly those of rank, are addicted to the practice in an extraordinary degree. They chew and smoke, and the fashionable parties are soon enveloped in the fumes which they raise from their segars.

The government of Cochin-China is a consummate despotism in theory and practice. There is no check to the authority of the

monarch, but the fear of insurrection. As in Siam, the whole male population is enrolled either for war or other service. The late king had a standing military force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, including his navy. Nevertheless, our author thinks that a force of five thousand European troops, and a squadron of a few sloops of war, would be quite sufficient for the conquest and retention of the whole empire; but he also thinks, that, were Cochin-China and the countries dependent upon it, placed under the skilful rule of an European government, a power might in time be established there, more formidable to the British Indian commerce and empire, than could arise in any other situation, or under any other circumstances. The coffers of the present government are enormously rich, owing to rapacity, parsimony, and exact habits of business in all the departments. To judge from the testimony of Lieutenant White, and the examples which abound in our author's Journal, we might declare it nearly impossible that the political and social degradation of subjects,—especially the middling and lower orders,—should be greater than in Cochin-China. Yet, certainly, the condition of the Siamese is still worse. A Siamese rarely stands or walks erect;—an inferior never does so, in presence of a superior: he *crouches*, or *crawls*, and his whole gait and carriage are spoiled by this habit. The necessary practice of grovelling upon knees and elbows, and knocking the forehead against the earth, is incompatible with the very idea of any dignity or elegance of manners. The effects of constant prostrations were visible to the British embassy on the limbs even of the dignitaries of their acquaintance;—the knees and elbows were marked with black, indelible scars. Among the Chinese, pads are allowed for the protection of the limbs and garments; but a precaution like this, on the part of the Siamese, would offend, as insufferably disrespectful, and be rewarded with the bamboo. Such customs and feelings may teach us to value our own institutions. It is well to contemplate occasionally living pictures of this description.

The diversity in the respective situations of the Cochin-Chinese and Siamese, is indeed striking, for every observer and reader. We have seen that the latter are under the sway of a very numerous priesthood and a pervading system of religion. But, in Cochin-China, the *Talapoins* are so few in number, that the British embassy never happened to see any of them;—the ministers of religion are of the meanest orders, and regarded as a sort of fortune-tellers; there exist no spacious temples wherein the people assemble to perform their devotions in common, or to receive religious or moral instruction. What temples they have, are comparatively small and paltry, and dedicated to inferior supernatural beings, tutelary or malignant.—

"The only part," says our author, "of the religious belief of the Cochin-Chinese and Tonquinese, which assumes a systematic form, or appears to reach the heart, or materially to affect the character or conduct of the people, is the worship of the manes of progenitors. This universally obtains; it is enforced by the government not only as a religious but as a moral and civil duty; and the honours paid to the dead, appear to be considered equally necessary to their comfort and repose, as to the temporal prosperity of the living. Among the most striking objects in Cochin-Chinese landscape, are the little religious groves which are here and there interspersed among the villages, and commonly near the burying-places. Of these we saw many. A single entrance conducts by a winding passage to the centre of them, where there are an open space, and one or more little temples, or rather rude altars. These retreats are consecrated to the manes of the dead, and their gloom and solemnity render them well-suited for the purpose."

It is their custom, after the body has been buried three years, to disinter the bones, and remove them to another situation close to their dwellings; and the second place of interment is viewed as a place of worship. The British strangers saw a great number of graves open, which had been thus vacated. The bodies of the Siamese of all ranks are burnt on a pile, and the funeral is attended with singular ceremonies. Of these, the most fantastic is the following, as reported by Mr. Crawford, who witnessed it. The male relatives of the deceased tied their clothes in a bundle, and standing on each side of the pile, tossed them over it six successive times, taking great care not to allow them to fall to the ground. Widely unlike the original Chinese in this circumstance, the Cochin-Chinese scarcely ever emigrate, and the veneration which they entertain for the remains of their fathers, contributes to keep them at home. It is known that our Indians cherish a similar reverence for the graves of their progenitors, whose bones they sometimes piously carry with them in their removals. The Anglo-Burmese ambassador, cited above, has the following memorandum in his journal. "January 31st. This was the first day of the year; the people left off all manner of work, and tricked themselves out in their gala dresses, going from house to house to visit each other. At every house was laid out a small table, containing sweetmeats and a lighted taper, which was an offering to the memory of their ancestors."

There is another annual festival for the performance of religious honours to the souls of deceased progenitors. Along the rivers and near the other highways, are temples of neat structure, consecrated, as cenotaphs, to the manes of worthies of the literary or civil order, each of whom has a small pillar with his name inscribed. The Anglo-Burmese mission, in riding to Saigon, examined two of these buildings, and found a written testimony to each of the individuals whose merits had been deemed sufficient to be thus enshrined. As a mark of respect, every one who approaches these pantheons, on horseback, is compelled to dismount.

In all the more recent accounts of Cochin-China, the French



residents, and particularly the two French *mandarins*, have a prominent place. Their presence is connected with adventures nearly as romantic and striking, as any which belong to the eventful history of European association with the domestic revolutions and improvements of the Asiatic states. Barrow, in the ninth chapter of his work already quoted, has gathered the most copious and curious details of those adventures, from the manuscripts of Captain Baristy, an able and intelligent French naval officer, who had for several years commanded a frigate in the service of the King of Cochin-China, and enjoyed the opportunity of collecting accurate information. As Barrow's narrative is generally known, or at least easily accessible, we shall confine ourselves to the few principal features of the story, upon some of which, Mr. Crawford dwells through several pages.

In 1774, a rebellion broke out in Cochin-China. The reigning king and his eldest son were defeated in two great battles, taken, and beheaded. The queen, his wife, made her escape, carrying with her her second son Gia-Long. The prince, most fortunately for his welfare, put himself under the protection and guidance of a French missionary, who styled himself the *Apostolic Vicar of Cochin-China*, and whose real name and title were, *Georges Pierre Joseph Pigneaux de Behaim, Bishop of Adran*. This prelate became the tutelary genius of the royal family and the country. He shared in the distresses of a dangerous exile and concealment; and in renewed military efforts, which he chiefly counselled or directed, with the aid of some French and Portuguese adventurers. At length, in 1787, the "legitimate" king, after sad vicissitudes, confided his eldest son to the Bishop's care, and authorized him to proceed to France, with his ward, and claim the assistance of Louis XVI. The envoy arrived safely at the Court of Versailles, where he negotiated a treaty offensive and defensive, which Barrow first published *in extenso*. With the co-operation of fourteen or fifteen French, English, and Irish naval and military officers and engineers, who resorted to the standard of His Cochin-Chinese Majesty, in consequence of this alliance,—the king was enabled before the end of the century to vanquish and disperse all his enemies. Adran returned to him, restoring the son in safety, with the title of Bishop of Cochin-China, and the appointment of minister plenipotentiary, conferred by Louis XVI.

To the courage and sagacity of this adviser, and the skill and intrepidity of the European officers, Mr. Crawford attributes the restoration of *Gia-Long*, more than to the efficiency of his own genius or of his native auxiliaries. His subsequent successes in war, the extensive public works which he accomplished, and the progress which his subjects made during his reign in manufactures and the mechanic arts, were mainly owing likewise to the



wisdom and ascendancy of the same benevolent and enlightened friend. Adran died in 1800, without having lost in any degree the favour of the monarch, who continued to distinguish him by an epithet before reserved for Confucius—the *Illustrious Master*, and who lavished honours on his remains, one of which was the appointment of fifty families to the exclusive occupation of watching over his tomb. The other French coadjutors retained also their hold upon the friendship and gratitude of *Gia-Long*. This monarch acquired a high reputation for talents, judgment, and various liberality. But some of the French officers informed Mr. Crawford, that while he fully encouraged and comprehended military and naval tactics, and undertook with alacrity, fortifications, military schools, roads and canals; he constantly answered them when they ventured to recommend the promotion of civil industry and science in his dominions, that he did not want rich subjects, as poor ones were more obedient; and when they urged in reply, that in Europe, disorders and insurrections were most frequent among poor and needy nations, he rejoined briefly,—“the matter is different in China.” The spirit of these notions is the same as that of the Emperor of Austria, with regard to an educated people.

No attempt was made on either side, to carry into full effect the treaty with Louis XVI. Our author remarks that this circumstance was fortunate for the independence of the Cochin-Chinese monarch, for, had the views of the French court been prosecuted to the full extent, Cochin-China and the surrounding countries would virtually have become provinces of France in the first instance, and “in the sequel, Great Britain would have interfered, and probably supported the insurgents, and thus established her influence, if not her dominion, in that remote part of India.” The British conceived strong jealousy of the designs of France upon a country deemed the most suitable of Asia for maritime objects, and they found themselves thwarted by the French influence at the court, in their two first formal efforts to institute political and commercial relations. But when Mr. Crawford executed his mission, *Gia-Long*, the protector of the French and Christianity, was dead, having been preceded to the tomb by his only legitimate son, the pupil of Adran; and a natural offspring had ascended the throne, with other dispositions toward the European denizens and the Christian converts. In the *Anglo-Burmese Journal* to which we have more than once referred, Mr. Gibson has made this entry, for June 10th, 1823:—

“On this day, two French gentlemen paid the mission a visit—they informed us that of the many French who were once in the country, two of the elder ones only survived, and that there remained but five in Cochin-China altogether, exclusive of missionaries. The present king had openly expressed a dislike to Eu-

ropeans, and forbidden the overt profession of the Christian religion. He had refused to admit the two bishops into his presence, according to former usage, and when one of them lately presented himself, he insulted him by offering him a piece of money as a common beggar."

With the two French Mandarins, *MM. Chaigneau* and *Vanier*, the British envoy held frequent, and very agreeable and beneficial intercourse. Vanier, the senior, had dwelt in Cochin-China thirty-three years, served in all Gia-Long's wars, and gained a high rank and title. He began his professional career in the French navy—was present with the combined French and American army, to which Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Little York, as well as in the action between Lord Rodney and the Comte de Grasse. This share in our revolutionary struggle, excites additional interest in his biography and situation. M. Chaigneau, had been twenty or twenty-nine years in the country; returned to France in 1819, and brought back a French wife, and the appointment of Consul General for Cochin-China, from the French court. The spouse of M. Vanier, was a Cochin-Chinese, "a fine looking woman, tall, and as fair as the natives of the south of Europe." Both the gentlemen and ladies dressed in the indigenous fashion, but the repasts which they gave to the British embassy were entirely French. Mr. Crawford states, that it was their devotion to royalty which fixed the two mandarins, and the greater number of their countrymen, in this remote quarter of the world,—and he adds, "in short, it was the French revolution which achieved the revolution in Cochin-China, and established the existing order of things there." Many are the remote, unexpected and important incidents of every great political revolution. Our own will have a longer and more diffusive train, than any which has occurred in modern times. To the page in which Mr. Crawford has celebrated "the politeness, hospitality, and real kindness" of his French friends, he has appended this note. "These gentlemen have all quitted Cochin-China since, and I had the pleasure of seeing the greater number of them at Singapore, on their way to France, in 1825." The French party, so called, in Cochin-China, is now extinct; but the people continue to be styled the *French of India*, on account of their vivacity, gaiety, and other social qualities.

On the 17th of October, the British Embassy quitted Hué, proceeded by land to Touran, and embarked thence for Singapore. Nothing was gained from the court of Cochin-China. It manifested an invincible reluctance to maintain any diplomatic relations with the delegated government of India. Mr. Crawford relates, that, after the breaking out of the Burmese war, a second mission was despatched by the governor-general, to Siam, the object of which was to gain the assistance of the Siamese,

and to improve the commercial intercourse. The Siamese sent armies into the field, and made a show of co-operating with the British; but when they discovered that they could acquire nothing substantial for themselves, they receded, and remained neuter, with warm professions of friendship for both belligerents; intensely hating, in fact, their inveterate enemy, the Burmese, yet dreading more the British power and policy. Our author also mentions, that some intelligent and extensive efforts were made by the merchants of Singapore, backed by the capital of London and Liverpool, to enlarge the British trade with Siam, by a direct intercourse. Those efforts totally failed, and the end is deemed hopeless. Mr. Crawford expatiates on the peculiar and close affinity subsisting between the races of men that inhabit the wide regions between Bengal and China, excepting, however, the Annam, upon which the Chinese character is so deeply stamped. The leading nations in this wide range, are the Burmans, the Siamese, and the Peguans. Their dialects bear a common resemblance in structure and idiom. There is a striking accordance among themselves, in all essential points, and a dissimilitude to all other Asiatic races, no less obvious. They have the same form of religion, the same laws, the same literature, the same civil and political institutions. They appear never to have been victims to foreign force or rule; but while exempt from foreign aggression, their own history is one of constant internal warfare, and alternations of conquest and subjection. The public annals of mankind, and the narratives of travellers, whether concerning the East or the West, betray at least the same general outline, and the same complexional traits, of human nature. In every part of the globe, our species fall into like vanities, follies, and vices, though mere usages and fashions may differ. Much of what we have abstracted respecting the Siamese and Cochin-Chinese, may smite the conscience of nations far more refined and exalted. For various reasons, the various divisions of mankind may be careful, too, in judging each other—backward in pretending to interpret what they do not understand. “To speak correctly,” says Barrow, “of the manners and opinions of foreign nations; to trace the motives of their actions, and the grounds of their prejudices; to examine the effects produced on the temper and disposition of the people, by the civil and religious institutions; and to inquire into their ideas of moral right and wrong, their notions of taste, of beauty, and happiness, and many other subjects necessary to be investigated, before a thorough knowledge can be obtained of their true character and condition, require not only a long residence in the country, but an intimate acquaintance with all the various classes of society; and after all, an accurate portrait is hardly to be expected.” Here is the testimony of a great authority on the subject. We leave it as a



caution to those who shall peruse Mr. Crawford's splendid and ponderous volume, rich as this is in evidence of the author's sound sense, comprehensive information, and scrupulous research.

#### ART. IX.—NEW MARITIME ARTILLERY.

*Nouvelle Force Maritime et Application de cette force a quelques parties du Service de l'Armée de Terre; ou Essai sur l'état actuel des Moyens de la force Maritime; sur une espèce nouvelle d'Artillerie de mer, qui détruirait promptement les Vaisseaux de haut-bord; sur la Construction de Navires à voile et à vapeur, de grandeur modérée, qui, armés de cette artillerie, donneraient une Marine moins Couteuse et plus puissante que celles existantes; Et sur la force que le système de bouches-a-feu proposé offrirait a terre, pour les batteries de siège, de place, de côtes et de campagne.* Par H. I. PAIXHANS. Ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechnique; Chef de bataillon au Corps Royal de l'Artillerie; Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis; Officier de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion-d'Honneur. 1 vol. 4to. pp. 458—7 plates. Paris.

*New Maritime Force, and the application of it to certain parts of the Land Service; or an Essay on the actual System of Maritime Force; on a new species of Marine Artillery, which would promptly destroy ships of the line; on the construction of both sailing and steam vessels, of moderate size, which, being armed with this New Artillery, would furnish a less costly and more powerful force than the present marine; and on the advantages which the New System of Artillery would offer by its employment on shore, either in battering or field pieces, or in the defence of Towns and Coasts.* By H. I. PAIXHANS, Pupil of the Polytechnic School; Chef de Bataillon of the Royal Artillery; Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; and Member of the Legion of Honour.

It is now more than fifty years, since Gribeauval and other scientific artillerists and engineers, commenced a system of improvement in land artillery, which has so much increased the effects of this potent engine, in determining the fate of pitched battles; the ardour with which the French have sought after, and adopted every thing tending in the slightest degree to the perfection of this branch of the service, and the consequent su-



periority of their field artillery, both as regards structure and management, have contributed essentially to the success of some of their most brilliant campaigns. The great desideratum in field artillery, is rapidity of movement; and it would be perfect, if it could be brought up, manœuvred, and carried to the various parts of the field of battle, with the celerity of cavalry; this has been obtained to a certain degree; but the French were the first to introduce these improvements, by using guns lighter than those formerly brought into the field, which, together with a reduction in the weight of their "*appareil*," and a better mode of draught, rendered it for a time the most formidable in Europe. It is obvious, however, that advantages derived from improvements of this kind, must be temporary, and would soon be shared by all alike; and this branch of the military forces has in fact attained nearly the same degree of excellence in every service: if there is any difference, the English field artillery, (according to the opinion of a French officer,) is superior to that on the continent.

It may seem strange, that while the artillery used in land fights was receiving important improvements, the same weapon which constituted the *whole force* of the marine, should have undergone few or no material changes; for, with the exception of caronades, which were introduced into the British navy in 1779 or 1780, the armament of ships of war does not differ essentially from that of fifty years ago. There have been various experiments made, with a view to this object, and many hints and suggestions for material changes, but none of any consequence have been carried into effect. A little reflection will explain the causes of this seeming neglect. The situation of the fleets and armies of the belligerent powers, during this period, was very different;—the latter were in constant and fearful collision with each other; and, whatever might be the successes of either party, they were never so great as to render them indifferent to the improvement of all those means on which they depended for victory; but the French marine, which at no time had obtained more than a temporary and partial superiority over that of England, and the elements of which are very inferior to those of their insular neighbours, never made a successful stand after the 1st of June 1794. From this period, the star of Britain prevailed, and a series of victories ensued—terminating with Trafalgar, which annihilated the navy of France. The superiority on the part of England, was such as to render increased exertion unnecessary; it was useless to augment the effect of means already more than sufficient to accomplish their purpose; for every succeeding effort on the part of the French, only served to render their decline more obvious. This state of things very naturally led to the belief that the British navy was the

best possible in every point of view. So confident were they rendered by success, that they vaunted the superiority of some of their smaller guns over the heavier calibers in use in other navies—thus attributing to it a perfect combination of the *materiel*, as well as of the *personnel*; but in fact they were entirely indebted to the latter, to their superior *management* of this *materiel*—to their skill in *seamanship*;—for the moment they came in contact with seamen equal, and in many respects superior to their own, though opposing with their favourite class of ships, armed with a caliber they professedly considered the best, they were at once foiled, and the disparity between them and their new enemy, was greater than had ever been exhibited in their repeated triumphs over the French. It is not our intention to refer to their different modes of accounting for what was a very natural occurrence; but those who saw the true state of the case, also saw that the only remedy—if indeed remedy were now possible—was to oppose their enemy with the same, or heavier weapons, and endeavour to excel in the use of them. Here is, we conceive, under all circumstances, the true secret of victory. This led to some changes of armament hitherto considered unnecessary, and it has for a few years past been a matter of consideration to increase the *intensity* of the ordinary means in use in the different navies; but when the greatest degree of absolute force has been given to this part of the national defence, as the progress of all will be nearly alike, the relative force of the respective marines will be the same as at present, so that however the navies of Europe or the United States may go on improving in this respect—that which is most powerful will still continue so, and the overwhelming superiority of England can only be counterbalanced by the introduction of some means which shall change the whole face of affairs, and produce an *entire revolution* in naval warfare.

It is to this subject Mr. Paixhans has directed his researches; and the object of the work before us is the introduction of a new armament, whose use and principles, though long known, yet, from a variety of causes, were not carried into operation; but by the successful application of which, he now thinks to produce results highly important, not only to France, but to every nation in any degree dependent on a marine for prosperity and safety. The means thus proposed are *bomb-cannon*; and he endeavours to show that vessels armed in this manner are competent to the destruction of any class of ships whatever, and of course the present fleets of line of battle ships rendered in a great measure, if not entirely useless; and naval despotism will in future be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

The project of destroying the supremacy of the British navy, or putting it *hors de combat*, by means apparently so simple,

may at first appear rather more than paradoxical. Without coinciding entirely with the opinions of our author, as to the *certainty* of the results to be produced by the introduction of the "*Nouvelles Armes*," we have little doubt that highly important changes will take place in naval warfare:—to none will these changes be more important than to ourselves. Mr. P. asks in his preface—

"Are not ships of the line, more easily destroyed than preserved? and are such great efforts necessary to ensure the destruction of such frail edifices, when a few pounds of powder in a mine, are sufficient to crumble to dust the strongest ramparts?"

"No, ships of the line are not difficult to destroy: they may resist the ordinary artillery, but nothing is easier than to produce a kind of artillery which they cannot resist."—*Introduction*, p. v.

Mr. Paixhans claims no credit for inventions of any kind; indeed, he denies that there is any thing new in his project.

"We are so far from pretending to have invented any thing, that we have made laborious researches to show, that the principal innovation proposed in this work, is a thing long known—has been already tried with success—been often recommended by well informed professional men, and of which it was only necessary to study the details, and what is most remarkable, it was Napoleon himself, (as we shall show hereafter,) who came nearest to the solution of this problem."—*Introduction*, p. vii.

The sanction of such a name, would be in itself sufficient to secure our attention to the subject, however extravagant it might at first appear; we however hope to show, that the merits of this work claim, in a particular manner, the attention of military and naval men, both as it regards the modifications it is liable to produce in their respective professions, particularly the latter, as well as the more important subject of national defence. The work was commenced in 1809, but not made public until 1822, though it had been laid before the government in 1819. With respect to the *publication* of his system, Mr. P. very sensibly argues, that no inventions for warlike purposes *can* be kept *secret*; for, it is only by experiments on a large scale, and after mature discussion, that they are admitted; and "it has never occurred that victories have ever been gained by similar mysteries." He observes:—

"The system is either good, or it is not; if it is not, its publication can be attended with no inconvenience; but, if having been established from the experience of anterior and well proved facts, this system should be found admissible, and capable of producing the effects announced, what would be the results? Why that the advantages would not merely be to procure to the French marine, a priority of success; but these advantages would consist in this, *that in future, the naval power of states will be in proportion to the total force of their population, instead of being restricted, as at present, to the experienced part of their maritime population.* That is to say, the difficulty of having a good navy, will cease to be so much greater than that of having a good army; but, are these advantages, which France has an interest in procuring secretly, in order to ensure the success of the first battle, which never decides a war?" pp. xiv. xv.

The work is divided into eight books, besides an appendix on



coast defence. The first book consists of an examination of the ordinary means of offence and defence, actually in use, the improvements which have taken place in the construction of the vessels, or in their armament; among which he classes, as the most useful and simple, that of giving to a vessel the greatest possible force of artillery; that is, to put the greatest possible number of guns, in the smallest possible space. These are the ideas of Montalembert, in which we confess we see no advantages; for, on board of vessels carrying long guns, the *minimum* distance between the ports is probably attained; the distance between the ports of a battery of thirty-two pounders, (seven feet six inches,) is perhaps the smallest space in which men can perform the necessary manœuvres, in working guns of this caliber. But the greatest objection to increasing the number of guns in a given space, would be the necessary increase of men, and this would be more particularly objectionable, in sloops of war, and smaller vessels, and would not be remedied by *smaller caliber*, which, whatever might be the number of guns, would be less effective than at present. Carronades, from their lightness, peculiar construction, and facility of handling, would probably admit of being placed nearer together; yet this would be attended by inconveniences, more than counterbalancing any advantages to be derived from such an arrangement: the men would be crowded so closely on deck, as to render it almost impossible to receive a shot, without suffering, in killed and wounded; and there would be more openings for the smaller ammunition to find its way among them, besides adding to an already existing difficulty with regard to this class of vessels—that of not carrying provisions enough for a cruise of any length, even with their present complement of men, setting aside the additional quantity of ammunition which would be necessary. With respect to increase of caliber, we agree with Mr. P., that a *maximum* limit has probably been attained. We were the first, we believe, to attempt a *maximum*, together with *unity* of caliber; and he quotes our ships, as favourable instances of the superiority to be obtained by these means; yet he observes very justly, this has its limits, and we are disposed to think we are about to exceed this limit, by the substitution of forty-two pounders for thirty-two pounders, in the armament of our heavier ships of the line. The last of these two calibers, the thirty-two, we are, from a variety of considerations, induced to regard as the one most likely, under all circumstances, to produce a maximum of effect. The *quantity of metal* thrown in an action by a forty-two pounder, will rather fall short, than exceed, that of a thirty-two; for, supposing the *number of shots* fired from the forty-two, to be to those fired from the thirty-two, as seven to ten, which is a supposition favourable to the forty-two, still, the weight of iron thrown from the thir-



ty-two is greatest, and in an action of any length, would be very considerable; but, the momentum of a thirty-two pounder, is highly sufficient for all purposes of damages, either on hull or spars: and after *this* has been obtained, any further increase of momentum is not only useless, but injurious, inasmuch as it necessarily requires greater efforts to produce it. The object should be to obtain, not the *greatest* degree of momentum, but the *best*; and when this is had, rapidity and accuracy of fire will do the rest.

Carronades, Mr. P. considers as well calculated for firing hollow shot, particularly the lighter kind, as they will be fired with smaller charges of powder, and with lighter balls, though of the same size. As we have within a few years considerably increased the weight of this species of gun, by an access of metal at the breech, the lighter ones might be immediately brought into play, without any change whatever in their *appareil*, except that of providing hollow shot, of the requisite size; and, as this expense would be small, we would suggest the propriety of making some experiments in this way. We might thus have ocular proof of their effects, and be enabled to judge for ourselves, of the probability of its producing an entire change, both in the armament and construction of ships of war, which the author confidently anticipates from the decided advantages of the "*nouvelles armes*:"—

"Advantages," says he, "which will be seen to be such, as inevitably to produce a total change in the system, not only of their armament, but of the construction, of men of war.

"In confining ourselves in this chapter to what merely concerns the employment of hollow shot, with the artillery now in use in the navy, without any changes whatever, we shall simply observe,—

"That the large carronades, in particular, may produce great havoc, by firing hollow projectiles of heavy caliber.

"That long guns, still continuing to fire solid shot, if it is desirable, at great distances, would produce formidable effects in closer action, by firing hollow balls with small charges of powder." p. 22.

Mr. P. anticipates no great *changes* to be produced by the moral effects, at least no lasting ones. Whatever advantages have been derived from this source, they must, from their very nature, be transient; for, although the moral force of a navy, or army, must be based upon good rules and regulations, rendered efficient by their vigilant and continued application, yet, no important and sudden *changes* are to be expected; they are more generally the work of an *individual*—a Napoleon or a Nelson; they belong to *him*, rather than to the *service*, and of course are likely to perish with the spirit which gave them life and energy.

The second book treats of the *extraordinary* means of the present marine: it passes in review, the whole array of fire-ships, fusees, rockets, floating batteries, incendiary, and explosive shot, and infernal machines of every description, in use, or

invented for two centuries past; not forgetting the American steam frigate, the descriptions of which, together with a desire to become acquainted with the real state of our navy, induced the French government to send out two scientific officers, (one of them in the command of a sloop of war,) to examine, and report from actual observation. A curious note, appended to this part of the work, will give a better idea of the notions entertained concerning this *monster*, than any thing we can say on the subject:—

“Travellers have been pleased, on their return to Europe, to give the most incredible accounts of the accumulated means of destruction, on board of the American steam batteries. Sharp scythes, melted pitch, hot sand, flails, clubs, darts, and pikes, suddenly starting up, and covering the whole surface of the vessels, &c. &c. In short, there is nothing which their imaginations did not see, and which the journals, both of France and England, did not believe, or at least did not publish. We have also some books, otherwise judiciously written, which have not scrupled to repeat these follies; but some professional gentlemen, (Messrs. Maristier and Montgery,) have been upon the spot, and have seen for themselves; and all these infernal descriptions have vanished.” pp. 38, 39.

We shall leave the arsenal of destructive machinery, exhibited by Mr. P., to be examined at leisure by those who feel sufficient interest to refer to the work itself. Regarding the whole farra-go as mere matter of curiosity; ingenious enough—but utterly useless for the purposes of naval war—we shall merely select one or two of the most recent, as fair samples of the rest.

The excellencies of the whole rocket tribe, are comprised in the Congreve, and though somewhat underrated in this country, are considered by the English as an efficient weapon in European warfare. Their flight and direction being almost entirely independent of those who manage them, render them at least very uncertain—there has been, however, a rocket lately invented in England, which being fired through a sheet iron tube, and the staff or directress of which, being a prolongation of the axis, has, it is said, given the most extraordinary results; at the distance of two hundred toises, its correctness of fire was superior to that of cannon!

In June 1826, there was a newly invented case shot exhibited for trial at Woolwich. It was a hollow iron cylinder terminating at one end in a cone, through which was inserted a piston communicating with a priming of percussion powder, laying immediately over the charge; the cylinder was deeply grooved, or *rifled*; which is said to be sufficient to make it rotate like a rifle ball, thereby preserving its primitive direction, arriving always pointed end foremost: for its explosion depended on the piston striking directly against the object fired at. This did not always occur; in one instance, however, it exploded, and did great damage. Besides the objections to its form, there are other equally important contingencies, which cannot be guarded against; for

should it strike ever so little on one side, the piston, instead of being driven in and firing the charge, might be bent or broken, and of course, the shot rendered entirely useless; for, from its form, and want of momentum, it could not be used in long ranges, and the liability of such a machine to explode by a blow from any quarter, is an insuperable objection to its introduction on ship-board.—Fane's shot is a small iron ball, enveloped in cotton, prepared in such a manner as to be inextinguishable. This projectile is equally objectionable with the others. The last we shall mention, was invented by an American, and has, we understand, been patronised in our naval service. It is a case shot or carcase; but liable to the same, and, indeed, more objections than any yet named, being of an oblong figure, with a directress or tail composed of warped surfaces, placed around a spindle or continuation of its axis, similar to the wheel of a smoke-jack, and intended to operate in the same manner as the grooving of the cylinder mentioned above. The number of holes in the shell is alone sufficient to exclude it from use on board ship, where a spark might kindle it, in spite of precautions; and when we know that round shot, from want of sphericity, too much windage, incrustations of rust, are liable to be deflected from the line of fire, so as to miss a target of considerable size, little is to be expected from correctness of flight, where a slight accident may destroy its directress, or a fresh breeze of wind in a lateral direction, may alter its trajectory, to almost any degree: additional causes of error in flight, are a want of symmetry and homogeneity, not readily obtained in shot of this form, either as it regards the case, or the charge. But the best and only test of the utility of such means is experience, and though many of these inventions have been known a long time, not one of them has yet been *retained* in any of the various marines, or ever contributed in any degree to win a battle. At the present day, scarcely any other than round shot are admitted on board men of war.

In his third book, our author discusses the improvements which may still be introduced into the marine as now constituted, by partially adopting his system. He contends, that, however far the art of construction may be perfected, or however skilful seamen may become, still it is in the very nature of the progress of the arts, that all improvements must be slowly, successively, and *publicly* introduced; that no one nation can appropriate to itself any important discovery, but that it must soon be equally well known to all; and the advantages derived from strength of construction and rapidity of sailing being equal, no real access of force could accrue to the weaker parties:—

“So that, for example, however swift and strong, French, Russian, or American vessels may be made, nothing could prevent the English from immediately rendering their's as rapid and as strong; and though it is true, that art can in-



crease the absolute degree of force, it is equally true, that the relation of these forces remains the same,—but it is a change in this ratio of force that we seek to effect.” p. 53.

With regard to a *maximum*, and at the same time a *unity* of caliber, we had put this in practice at the time the author was composing his work. Indeed, he seems aware of this fact, though in quoting our ships he has fallen into some errors with respect to their armament. He mentions the *Columbus* as carrying fifty-six carronades. She carried only twenty-four. This mode of arming ships, if it did not originate with us, at least we were the first to put in practice, by arming the *Independence*, *Washington*, and *Franklin*, with long thirty-two pounders on the batteries, and carronades of the same caliber on the spar-deck,—and this being the highest caliber necessary for long guns on ship board, we can only wonder at the changes which have since taken place in their armament. An examination of the comparative advantages, would, we are confident, restore the thirty-two pounder to its place;—we shall then have attained this point of improvement which Mr. P. solicits for the actual marine, that is—“that the caliber of the largest batteries of ships of the line, may be adopted as the only caliber for all the artillery of ships of war;” whence results—

“1st. The greatest possible increase of effect.”

“2d. The greatest possible simplification of means.”

We shall give a slight sketch of the improvements proposed in the armament of ships of the line. They are to retain the long thirty-six pounders (French) as before, on the principal battery,—to adopt a gun of the same caliber for the next, weighing no more than the ordinary twenty-four’s, and firing with reduced charges of seven to eight pounds; and to replace the twenty-four’s usually carried on the upper battery, with a thirty-six, having a mean weight between the ordinary eighteen and twelve pounders, and preserving the present thirty-six pound carronades, for arming the spar decks of ships of the line and frigates. This refers, of course, to French ships; but as we have already carried the heaviest caliber on the upper decks, it can only apply to us as regards the projectile,—and where it is not intended to change the whole system, by adopting that of Mr. Paixhans *in toto*, we see no reason, indeed no room, for any of the alterations suggested by him, except that of substituting hollow shot for the solid balls, which could be very well used with the present guns; in which case, part of the objection urged against the forty-two pounder on the lower deck would not exist, its projectile being so much lighter.

By adopting these alterations, Mr. P. thinks we shall then have a *maximum* of force with the *present means*; that the destructiveness of the new agents thus employed, will tremendously



augment the power of the actual marine; but that even *this maximum force* can be destroyed by other means more powerful and less costly.

“ Nous allons voir maintenant, comment on pourra détruire cette force *maximum*, par des moyens beaucoup moins coûteux qu' elle,” p. 74.

In the fourth book, our author comes at once to the point, by explaining his new means of destruction, giving a number of experiments made with a view to test their great power, and the horrible ravages made by bombs of all descriptions, together with the opinions of experienced and skilful professional men, as to their tremendous effects. We shall let Mr. P. speak for himself, by making extracts from this part of his work:—

“ The marine artillery at present in use, fire solid balls of the caliber of thirty-six pounds (French). The effect of these is inconsiderable, since hundreds of them may be fired upon a ship without placing her in danger of sinking. In Lord Exmouth's attack on Algiers, in 1816, the *Impregnable* received two hundred and sixty-eight shot, fifty of which were below the lower deck, and three sixty-eight pound shot below the water line; and yet this ship arrived safely at Gibraltar. What would have become of this vessel if she had received two hundred and sixty-eight hollow shot? Still more striking examples might be furnished nor can the effects produced on the *personnel* of fleets be at all compared with that which takes place in an army—since England lost in killed only 1720 seamen in the twelve great battles of the wars of the revolution; 1243 in all the war of American Independence; 1512 in the seven years war; making only 4475 men killed in the fights of three great wars. The dreadful effects of hollow projectiles having engaged the attention, artillerists have endeavoured to increase their caliber, so that by containing more powder, they might produce more violent explosions; experiments have been made on howitzer-shells which are nothing more than large hollow shot; but hitherto the howitzers have but imperfectly combined the requisite conditions of precision of flight, extent of range, certainty of effect, moderation of recoil, preservation of carriages, &c., but above all, they have failed in what particularly relates to the habitual service of ships of war.

“ The researches with which we have been occupied, have been directed to the employing of hollow projectiles on board ships of war; and we shall not only show how shells of the caliber of forty-eight and eighty pounds, very superior to hollow shot of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, may be fired: but we shall also show, that so far from limiting ourselves even to this heavy and powerful caliber, we shall suddenly increase the effect of marine artillery to an unexpected and decisive degree of energy; by firing with the force and precision of cannon balls, large bombs of the caliber of one hundred and fifty, and two hundred pounds, to which we shall add some improvements, intended to augment the destructive effects of the bombs themselves.

“ In proposing to fire large bombs horizontally, we shall prove that this is possible, both as it regards extent of ranges, and precision of flight: that it will be practicable on board ship, without any danger to the ship herself, and that it will be truly and powerfully efficacious; and we shall, besides, furnish the weight, dimensions, drawings, and all the necessary details, for the execution; for the mere idea would be nothing by itself, and even a demonstration would be of little service, without the determination of the exact measures which should guaranty the immediate possibility of execution. It is these matters which will form in a great measure the body of our work.” pp. 77, 78, 79.

With regard to firing bombs, and hollow *spherical* projectiles of any kind horizontally, we conceive there are but two conditions necessary, namely,—momentum proportioned to their size, and that the projectiles should be symmetrical. *Bombs*

have hitherto been practically considered only in one point of view; they have invariably been fired with great angles of elevation, producing effects in many instances almost equally terrible, by their momentum in a vertical direction, as by their subsequent explosion; but however efficacious this mode of firing, in the attack of fortified places, where the situations fired from, and at, never change, and the range being once obtained, every shell is thrown with fatal accuracy, or falling any where within the place, does pretty nearly equal damage;—yet in firing at ships, the case is very different. Where the two objects, in themselves small, are every moment changing their relative positions, often moving with great rapidity, it is next to impossible that shells should take effect one time in a million, setting aside the impossibility of preserving for a single moment the desired angle of elevation. Among clusters of ships in port, or in particular situations, the ordinary bomb would prove a most *destructive* instrument—but if bombs can be fired horizontally, of which we entertain not the slightest doubt, then, to the power of the common cannon ball, we add that of a shell also. Let us examine the probability of the fulfilment of the conditions above mentioned—momentum and symmetry. The momentum of spheres moving with similar velocities, is as the *cubes* of their diameters, while the areas of the spaces through which they move, are as the *squares* of these same diameters; or which amounts to the same thing, suppose two balls to be fired at a target—say the side of a ship, where we may assume the resistance as every where equal; then the resistances these balls will have to overcome, that is, the *spaces* they must *bore* in the ship's side, will be in the ratio of the *squares* of their diameters; but the *power* of *boring those spaces*,\* will be as their *cubes*; and as the cube increases so much faster than the square, this *power* very much increases with the increase of caliber; and notwithstanding the diminution of weight, from having their centre filled with a charge so much lighter than the metal, it will be found on an examination of the weights and dimensions proposed, that there will be fully sufficient momentum to penetrate a ship's side under all ordinary circumstances. Admitting however that there may be cases in which they will not penetrate, still, by lodging in the side, they will in all probability do more damage by their explosion there, than inside the battery, as there will be more splinters, and the irregular fracture made by such a shot could not readily be stopped, particularly if it should enter below the water line. With respect to the caliber now in use in our own service, admitting that we adopt the hollow shot without any change in the artillery, we shall find that the *weight* of the charged projectile will be sufficient for

\* The velocities being the same.

producing the *usual effects* of naval fights as well as their *additional power* as shells.

Symmetry, we presume, can be very easily obtained. The casting of hollow shot is not a new art. The ansæ, and other inequalities, on the surfaces of bombs, being entirely dispensed with, as unnecessary, the projectile will present a uniform spherical surface. By using this shot with the forty-two's and thirty-two's, the predominant caliber of our marine, the weight of the gun remaining the same, while that of the projectile, as well as the charge, will be less, the recoil will also be considerably less, and we shall still be able to fire solid balls, if necessary to batter, or at very long shot, or we may use increased charges with hollow balls, should a greater initial velocity be required. With respect to the weight of our guns, we doubt if we have improved. For firing hollow shot, they might be considerably reduced, and this, as we have shown, is one of the improvements, in case of retaining the present species of gun. In reference to the new bomb cannon, Mr. P. observes:—

“By availing ourselves of the superabundance of metal employed in the construction of the present ship guns, we shall be able, without increasing the weight of these guns, to make the new ones, which, having the same volume, but different dimensions, will completely satisfy the following conditions:—sufficient diameter for firing bombs; solidity to resist the action of the necessary charge of powder; length enough to clear the ports; and lastly, sufficient *inertia*; which is imperiously demanded to deaden the recoil.

“We shall see, that these conditions, as well as several others equally necessary, may be completely fulfilled. It is only from their having been misunderstood, not being duly appreciated, or from attempting to fulfil conditions, in their very nature impracticable, that the various attempts hitherto made, have had little or no success.” pp. 80, 81.

As to the efficacy of large bombs, when fired horizontally, he considers it almost self-evident. With regard to their destructive effects on the enemy's vessels, he says:—

“And previous to entering into details respecting this question, is it not evident, that when bombs are thrown horizontally, in the manner of cannon balls, their mass being equivalent to five or six large shot, that they will crush, shake to pieces, and tear open, the side of the vessel, with a terrible shock. If they remain in the side, their explosion, acting like a mine, will open large breaches; the irregular fractures of which, extending below the water line, will make a passage through which the water will rush in, as through a dyke suddenly broken. If a bomb should enter a mast, it will overturn it, together with its yards, top, and rigging; should the bombs pass entirely through the ship's side, then they will produce their effects between decks, in the midst of the combatants, the artillery and munitions; and they will scatter around showers of iron, and insupportable volumes of smoke and flame; they will completely destroy a fabric of wood, much more easily than one of stone: they will rip up the deck, set every thing on fire, and cause dreadful ravages every where.” p. 83.

In support of his opinions of their tremendous and irresistible effects, he gives numerous and incontrovertible proofs. The one perhaps most in point, is as far back as 1690:—

“Mr. Deschiens had invented a method of firing bombs with cannon, not by throwing them parabolically, as with mortars, but horizontally, like the common



ball. This secret was of great service to him : he was going from Brest to Toulon, and was attacked by four English ships, superior to his own. He had on board two of these bomb cannon ; he fired on two of these ships, and set one of them on fire ; they were of course entirely occupied in extinguishing it. The English were surprised at this new invention, and fearing their vessels might be set on fire, sheered off, and allowed him to pass. This same Mons. Deschiens, being afterwards in a small vessel, was attacked by two Dutch vessels, one of which he sunk, the other was obliged to run aground." p. 84.

"In 1798, there was constructed at Meudon, a target, having the form and dimensions of a portion of an eighty gun ship. During the space of five months, various trials were made with incendiary shot ; these, though superior to any of the kind which had hitherto been tried, yet were not considered as giving any decisive results. Howitzer shells were then tried, with cannon of thirty-six pound caliber : twenty-six of them were fired, with different charges, at the distance of from two hundred to three hundred toises, (*upwards of six hundred yards ;*) of these twenty-six, several of them penetrated quite through the mass, and burst in the open space beyond : [none of these would have been lost, if they had fallen in between decks, or lodged in the opposite side of a vessel.] Three of them lodged in the target, and burst ; the first, after traversing eighteen inches of timber, tore off two pieces of the outside planking, one of which was eight feet long.

"The second started four of the planks, as much as three, six, and even thirty inches from the timbers—made a rent in one of the timbers, of three feet ; scattered some splinters to a distance of twenty-six feet ; started one of the uprights, tearing away bolts, screws, nails, &c.

"The third passed through twenty-four inches of the mass ; cut two of the double timbers, tore off twenty-two inches of the planking ; broke bolts, &c. ; and then changing its direction, lodged, and, by its explosion, carried away, and tore up beams, stanchions," &c. &c. p. 98.

To a variety of examples of this description, and experiments made on the efficacy of shells of various kinds, when fired against ships of war, most of which were made in presence of the most celebrated engineers, among whom he cites Vauban, Belidor, and Gribeauval, he also adds a list of the opinions of celebrated men. We shall give that of Napoleon, in itself a host :—

"Napoleon was convinced, that hollow projectiles were the most powerful means of assaulting ships ; and, from the measures adopted by his order, with a view to prevent the English vessels from approaching, we may judge what would have been done, if he had turned his attention specially to sea-fights. He wished the thirty-six pound cannon ball to be replaced by shells, in the coast batteries ; and directed each gun to be furnished with thirty, and some even with one hundred, of these shells ; a thing which had never been done till then. He also caused those employed in coast defence, to be exercised in the management of them. In order that there may be no doubt as to the opinion of Napoleon, we shall cite, literally, some passages from his communications on this subject, where the idea is explicitly and precisely announced. On the 8th of October, he wrote to the Minister of War.—'Je vous charge de faire faire un projet pour des pièces propre à tirer des bombes, ou obus de huit pouces ; Lorsque la fameuse pièce turque dont on s'est tant moqué, a tiré aux Dardanelles, elle a jeté un boulet qui a produit un grand effet, et qui a imprimé du respect ; ces pièces d'un gros calibre sont très utiles contre les Vaisseaux.'

"The 10th December 1810, the minister directed some artillerists to furnish a plan of a howitzer cannon, of eight inch caliber, weighing 7500 pounds, and which could be fired with a charge of twenty pounds of powder. On the 21st of August, he reiterated his order, and wrote as follows :—'Je desire que vous me fassiez couler comme essai, à la fonderie de Douai, un canon qui puisse tirer des obus de huit pouces. Faites également quelques boulets du calibre de 78, pour tirer avec ces nouvelles pièces, et voir l'effet que cela produirait.' pp. 141. 143, 144.



The idea of firing hollow shot against vessels, and also of using them on board ships of war, has not been confined to the French. Various suggestions and experiments of the same kind were made in England, but none so clearly and fully developed, as the plan of Mr. Paixhans.

When carronades were first introduced, their inventor, General Melville, suggested that they could not only fire solid shot, but might also be used for throwing carcasses and *cored shot*; that is, in fact, the very shot now proposed by Mr. P. In consequence of this suggestion, some experiments were made in the same year, 1779, in presence of Sir Adolphus Oughton, General Melville, and a number of engineer officers, at Carron, where the guns were cast. The result of these was such, as to determine at once the practicability, and the great and powerful effects produced by their explosions wherever they penetrated: they were recommended both for the land and sea service. In 1780, a series of experiments was made at Fort Languard, by order of Lord Townsend: they were fired alternately, with solid and hollow shot, at point blank ranges, and up to elevations of  $24^{\circ}$  and  $30^{\circ}$ . The hollow shot gave the longest distances to the first graze; and, although the extreme range was rather less than that of the solid ball, they were nevertheless highly satisfactory; and the guns were considered very superior to the eight inch howitzer. The objections made to the employment of such heavy and unmanageable shot, on board ship, it was thought would be removed, by their weight being thus reduced, from sixty-eight, (which was the caliber of the first carronades,) to about thirty-two pounds. The irresistible effect of such shot, in blowing up, splitting, and tearing to pieces, in a sea fight, was strenuously urged. The gun used on this occasion, was of eight inch caliber, weighing twenty-nine hundred-weight, being rather more than the average of the forty-two pound carronade employed in our service, and was fired with charges varying from four to six pounds of powder; its length of bore being four feet, nearly a diameter shorter than that of our forty-two pound carronade.

Some other experiments were made with the same gun, with different weights of shot, before the Duke of Richmond and General Melville, which we believe were equally efficient—these took place in the following year, 1781. In 1813, a small howitzer was used on the poop of one of our ships on Lake Ontario. But it is obvious that a gun intended to be fixed in a bed or carriage on shore, and fired with certain degrees of elevation, could be but of little service on the deck of a ship in continual motion, being fired in the usual way—parabolically. And in the unremitting labours of a short but harassing campaign, there was no time to give attention to subjects of this kind, and any plan not giving immediate practical results, would of course be abandon-

ed. We merely mention this fact, to show that the idea has been thought practicable on this side of the Atlantic.

But if this plan of firing hollow shot has been so long known, and is so efficacious, why has it not been universally adopted? This seemingly triumphant question is of course anticipated by Mr. P., and replied to, by others of a similar nature, which, if those who adopt this mode of argument will answer, they will then have a solution of their own. It would apply equally to every great and important discovery.

Why, asks our author, was not gunpowder used in mining, until one hundred and thirty years subsequent to being used in artillery? "Howitzers were invented in 1607, by a Frenchman, yet one hundred and fifty years elapsed before they were admitted into the French army." But to come nearer home; why was so much ridicule heaped upon the early attempts at steam navigation? Or why the opposition to what has been called the *big ditch*?

In concluding his fourth book, he observes, that having proved that the firing of bombs horizontally against ships is *feasible*, that it *has been done, and produces the effects announced* by him,—he has only then to give the details of execution—that is, weights, dimensions, and forms of the guns, and their projectiles: but, previous to doing it, he gives a summary of propositions, which he considers as demonstrated by the facts exhibited in his twenty-third chapter, and other facts generally known in artillery. These are:—that the range of hollow shot and shell is sufficiently great, and increases with increase of caliber,—that there is also great precision of flight,—that they will penetrate deep enough, even with an ordinary degree of velocity,—that large *bombs* also, in spite of their great weight and volume, may be fired horizontally, in the same way as *howitzer* shells and hollow shot,—that the effects of their explosion, when used against vessels, is much greater than that of red hot shot; and, lastly, the explosion produces much greater ravages and destruction, than hollow shot or *howitzer* shells.

We have already stated our belief in the feasibility, and in the effect of throwing hollow shot and shells; and shall proceed to exhibit the new guns, as proposed by our author, to replace the various calibers in the French marine. The three first are of similar caliber, forty-eight pounds *French*, but of different weights. They will be as follows:—

"1st. To take the place of small guns and the thirty-six pound carronade which weighs 2,500 pounds, or sixty-nine times its solid ball, there will be a *howitzer-carronade* weighing also 2,500 pounds, but of the caliber of forty-eight, which would fire a shell of thirty-five pounds, and consequently would be seventy-two times the weight of its charged projectile.

"2d. For the ordinary eighteen pounder, which weighs 4,200 pounds, would be substituted a *howitzer-cannon*, weighing 4,200 pounds; but with the same

caliber of forty-eight, this piece would be one hundred and twenty times the weight of its charged projectile, and might be fired with greater charges.

"3d. To replace the twenty-four pounder, there would also be a howitzer-cannon, weighing 5,100 pounds, of the same caliber as the others, (forty-eight,) having one hundred and forty-five times the weight of its charged projectile.

"4th. Lastly, the ordinary thirty-six pounder might remain unaltered, as regards its form, but might be bored to the caliber of forty-eight. It will be seen in chapter thirty-four, that for the firing of hollow shot, this gun might be bored to a larger caliber; but that of forty-eight will suffice, and the unity of caliber will be preserved. We shall thus have a very strong forty-eight pound howitzer-cannon, weighing two hundred and one times its projectile, and giving a great range.

"By means of these four models of guns, all firing hollow shot of forty-eight pounds, and having the same weights as the guns now in use, we should have for the armament of ships of the line and frigates, a system of artillery presenting great uniformity, great convenience, and great power." pp. 166, 167.

In these guns, having the same volume as the pieces they replace, the principal alterations in the form is the suppression of the tulip, or swell of the muzzle; and this surplus metal being put into the reinforce, and around the charge, with a view to strengthen the gun in this part, of course throws the centre of gravity of the piece farther back; and in order that the trunnions may preserve their relative positions to this point, they also are placed nearer the breech. This arrangement, by shortening the gun, likewise shortens its carriage, and leaves greater space behind it, and, with the same length of gun, it would give a longer chase; or, which is preferable, a less length of gun give the same length of chase. In appearance, it is very similar to the twenty-four pound *gunnades*, with which our new sloops are armed,—nor do the details differ essentially; the bore of the new gun is about a foot longer—the thickness of metal at the vent is nearly the same. We have heard objections urged against the form of this piece, in consequence of some supposed difficulties in securing them on the batteries of line of battle ships; but these, with some others of minor importance, are easily obviated.

The idea of boring out the French thirty-six pounder to a forty-eight, is in accordance with the views of Sir H. Douglass, in his work on naval gunnery. What is here said about the thirty-six pounder (French,) will apply more strongly to our *forty-two's*, the shot of which exceeds by a very little, the weight of a French thirty-six pound ball, (the actual weight of which is *thirty-seven and an half pounds French*,) so that the difference is very slight, but the weight of the piece is somewhat greater.—That of the long thirty-six pounder ship gun, according to Mr. Dupin, is 7,612 pounds; and of the long forty-two used in our marine, is 7,977; the diminution of weight, by boring the forty-two to a large caliber, say the one contemplated in the present instance, forty-eight.—And the howitzer shell of this dimension, when charged, weighing only *thirty-five pounds*,—would be too little to



affect either the strength, or recoil. Mr. P. estimates it one hundred and fifty-four pounds, and, in case of using hollow shot, this would perhaps be the best way of coming at a large caliber. Besides those already mentioned, there are two others, which are truly *bomb-cannon*; the first of them will have the same weight as the thirty-six, (7,200 pounds;) but of eight inches caliber, nominally eighty pounds, the charged projectile of which will weigh but fifty-five pounds.

The second will have the enormous weight of the forty-eight pound iron gun, 10,800 pounds; some of the old models of which are stated to weigh 13,000 pounds; this is a caliber of *two hundred*. With regard to the management of such guns on ship board, we shall say a word hereafter. Mr. Paixhans evidently considers them as very *easily* managed, for he observes that it is a different thing to manage a small number of large pieces of this weight, on board of vessels offering *peculiar facilities*; and a battery of thirty or sixty, almost as large, on board the *line of battle ships*—A glance at this reasoning, will show its fallacy; there can be no comparison between the handling of guns in batteries on shore, where he is no doubt *au fait*, and the manœuvring of guns at sea. He states that the *Willantrois Mortar* and carriage, weighed 22,000 pounds, yet was conveniently managed by eight men. We can assure him that a ship gun of not half that size, would take as many men to handle it as could get round it.

There is a great deal of scientific detail, relating both to the guns and their projectiles; but to be fairly understood, they must be studied with the assistance of the plates and tables; to these, therefore, we must refer the reader. We shall merely mention, that in charging his bomb, Mr. P. does not confine himself to the effects produced by bursting, but mixes with the powder a portion of incendiary matter.—

“Of which each bomb will contain a considerable quantity, which, by spreading a thick smoke through the whole ship, will soon render her uninhabitable.” p, 196.

This incendiary matter is a German composition, called *Dampfkuugeln*, used to poison the galleries of mines, and make smoke signals in the day time; it is made of tallow, rosin, sulphur, pitch, turpentine, &c. &c. and is truly “a pestilent congregation of vapours.”

“The propositions which we (Mr. P.,) have developed in this fifth book with regard to the elementary details and ameliorations, are far from being given definitively, as the best that can be adopted. On the contrary, we submit them to examination, in order that they may be properly modified and corrected. We simply believe, that such as they are, they will serve to ensure the execution of the first experiments which may be made.

“Besides, what we have here proposed, are not innovations; they are things which have been long known and practised. The method of firing howitzer shells and hollow shot with cannon, is well known; and nothing is simpler than to imagine the same thing could be done with bombs. The artillery which we

propose for firing bombs horizontally on board ships, would have the same weight as the actual ship guns for firing solid balls; their exterior would differ little from the ordinary cannon and Willantrois Mortars; their interior is analogous to that of carronades and howitzers; their management on board ship, their carriages, their equipment, would require little or no alteration; and the bombs, both inside and out, would, with the exception of some slight modifications, be like the howitzer-shells now in use.

"We have then invented nothing, produced nothing new, and hardly changed any thing; we have only collected the scattered elements, to which a slight degree of attention was sufficient to give the necessary size, and convenient proportions, for the attainment of the object we had in view." pp. 229, 230.

In the sixth book, our author meets the objections which may be raised against his system. We shall quote the chapter in which he replies to these objections, in what he considers a satisfactory manner:—

"Hitherto no one has ever remarked that it was possible to fire large bombs of a caliber of two hundred pounds horizontally, and with sufficient force, like cannon-balls; but, for more than twenty-five years, we have used with success hollow shot of the caliber of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, the employment of which, in our marine, would have prevented many reverses. What then are the motives, which, after so many authentic, official, and satisfactory trials, have prevented the admission of such easy means of victory?—The danger, it is said, which would be incurred by having such projectiles on board ship.

"If it be true that the employment of explosive projectiles of the calibers of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, be too perilous, the reasons would be still stronger against the admission of similar projectiles having the caliber of two hundred pounds; but is this danger real? Men of the highest rank, who are as disinterested in this question, as they are competent to judge it, and several seamen well known for their skill and experience, have affirmed that these projectiles ought to be, and can be conveniently used on board ship. We shall in this chapter examine whether this assertion has been inconsiderately hazarded.

"To object a danger, it is not sufficient to affirm that it exists; it must be shown to be real; it must be measured; but what have we at present on board a line of battle ship? And what shall we have with the new artillery?

"A ship of the line carries 60,000 pounds of powder, for the purpose of loading her guns; and from the necessarily less abundant supply, in consequence of using the more violent and promptly destructive projectiles, the same ship will in future carry only from 15,000 to 20,000 pounds of powder for the service of the guns, and from 7,000 to 8,000 pounds enclosed in the projectiles, that is, in all about 30,000 pounds.

"What there will be new then, is on one side 30,000 pounds of powder instead of 60,000, a reduction which will by so much diminish the danger, and, on the other hand, the introduction of a new danger, which might be caused by the explosion of the powder contained in one of these shells.

"The explosion of a shell on board ship, would undoubtedly be a very serious accident; so likewise would be the explosion of an ordinary twelve pound cartridge; and much more so, the bursting of a gun cast of bad metal; and still more mortally serious would be the explosion of a magazine of 60,000 pounds of powder. Nevertheless, seamen are perfectly habituated to cartridges, cast iron guns, and powder magazines: how is it, then, that they cannot readily become habituated to the use of shells, the powder contained in which, far from being exposed to accidents, as in thin paper cartridges, and in fragile wooden barrels, which merely contain the powder, will, on the contrary, be completely protected in globes of iron hermetically sealed, and which are inaccessible, except by one very small orifice, which is only uncovered in putting the projectile into the gun.

"And even though by some improbable accident, this orifice of the first

should catch fire, what would prevent any one from throwing the shell overboard through the port, before the fuse, which burns from thirty to forty seconds, should cause it to explode? Besides, is it not easy to dispose of the projectile, in such a manner that the fuse could not take fire, except from the fire of the piece? In short, the chances of such an occurrence as the explosion of a shell, are highly improbable, and the slightest precautions will suffice to render this danger altogether imaginary.

"The objection urged by some, is, that if the use of hollow projectiles was a thing really practicable, and advantageous, the English would have adopted it. To these it may be answered, that the power of the English is derived principally from their maritime force, and that they are far from being so senseless, as to be first to introduce a method of destroying that species of force.

"But let us suppose that it is with reason that shells have been rejected in the navy; and that when tried, instead of succeeding, they have failed; that shells which never burst, when loading guns on shore, should explode while loading them at sea. Let us suppose, that every means of avoiding this danger have been sought, and that instead of finding them, distressing accidents have occurred, (which, by the by, never have.) Let us suppose, in short, that hollow projectiles are entirely inadmissible on board line of battle ships. What may we conclude from thence? Why, that a line of battle ship may be completely destroyed, by means, the use of which she is entirely interdicted. But this will be to pronounce at once the condemnation of such expensive fabrics, and the inevitable admission of the more simple and economical constructions which we propose in this work. In short, if it be true, as it has been asserted, that the explosion of a single shell, of the caliber of twenty-four or thirty-six, on board ship, is so dangerous, that, in order not to be exposed to the liability of such an accident, the navy is really obliged to renounce the use of such projectiles, how, then, can they make out that the present ships will, in future, be able to contend against small vessels, which, so far from confining themselves to firing shells of the calibers of twenty-fours and thirty-sixes, will assail them with bombs of two hundred?

"But let us admit that all we have just said is absurd, and that it is proper to reject the proposition without reply; we shall conclude then with one observation:—The use of shells is said to be impracticable on board of men of war, on account of the danger, and of the moral effect on the minds of the seamen;—but how can a thing be impracticable, which has been generally practised for a hundred years? Do not seamen employ bomb vessels? And are not these vessels always furnished with bombs, for their mortars, which are always very large, frequently in great quantities, and consequently very dangerous? But have any of the misfortunes occurred, which were so loudly prophesied at the time bomb ships were first proposed to Louis XIV.? Have seamen ever been affected, either morally or physically, by the dangers of bomb ships? On the contrary, is it not rather the cities of Algiers, Genoa, Alicant, and Tripoli, that have reason to complain of them?

"Then, if the navy, without any inconvenience, can use bombs when it is necessary to demolish a town, how does it happen that the use of these same bombs becomes suddenly impracticable, when the object to be fired at, is a ship, instead of a town?

"But the true reason for the objections is, that the men who have acquired renown by combats on board these ships, or in constructing them, are unwilling that these ships should suddenly be rendered so easy to destroy. Those intrusted with the fate of our seamen, have urged, as an objection, a danger which they are really far from considering such, with a view of avoiding another danger, that of rendering the *personnel* much less necessary, in consequence of the increased power of the *matériel* about to be employed; but such apprehensions are erroneous; and we shall see, further on, that if the proposed system, by promoting the general good, should injure the interests of individuals, it is not in France that individual interests can be thus injured." p. 233 to 239.

As to any real risk incurred, by having on board such a quan-



tity of charged projectiles, secured in the way they ought to be, we look upon it as altogether visionary ; it is certainly no greater than that of having 60,000 pounds of powder. Knowing of no mode of estimating dangers of this kind, unless by the frequency of their occurrence, if there was a scale of dangers, we should, by this rule, place the blowing up of a ship of war absolutely at zero ; for, the magazines, and all avenues leading to them, are so well secured and guarded, that they may be considered free from all accidents, unless they be such, as from their very nature, render precaution and vigilance alike unavailing ; and we see no reason why a deposit for shells cannot be made equally secure. As to any diminution of danger, by reducing the quantity of powder from 60,000 to 20,000 pounds, we are free to confess, we would as soon be in the vicinity of one as the other, in case of an explosion ; either quantity is abundantly sufficient to destroy any ship whatever : and we should rather depend on the *improbability* of a shell's catching fire, than trust to its being thrown overboard after its fuse *had* caught ; for, however desirable it might be to get rid of such a neighbour, we should have doubts of any volunteers for the service. We have, hitherto, with some exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, fully coincided with the plans of Mr. P., as far as relates to the practicability of them, as well as the results likely to ensue, from their partial or entire adoption, whether we use the present caliber, or those of forty-eight, which we have already described ; but we are by no means so clear with regard to the heavy calibers of *one hundred and fifty, and two hundred*. Without any reference to the expediency of such tremendous agents, we consider them as unmanageable on ship board ; for, though not as heavy as their nominal caliber, being hollow, and reduced to *one hundred and ten, and one hundred and fifty pounds*, respectively, they are still obviously too heavy to be handled in the usual way. The following method of loading the gun is proposed by the author. A jack screw is placed before the gun, in such a way as always to retain its relative position to the muzzle ; at the upper part of the piston is an iron saucer, in which the ball is lodged, and then screwed up to a level with the bore of the piece ; a notch on that part of the saucer presented to the bore, facilitates the rolling of the bomb into the piece. This is certainly an ingenious mode of doing the thing, but by no means obviates the first difficulty : the bomb will still have to be *lifted into the saucer*, which is necessarily at a sufficient height from the deck to allow of the play of the piston. As to lifting them in the ordinary way, it is altogether out of the question. Besides the liability of this machine to be injured by shocks of any kind, which would create ruinous delays, we are opposed to gimcracks of every species, particularly, where every thing, to be

effective, must be simple and strong. It is the great simplicity of the system of Mr. P., which constitutes its excellence. The carriages are liable to similar objections. They are in their general construction, very similar to the ordinary gun carriage, but moving only on two trucks, the hinder part of the carriage sliding on the deck; this of course increases the friction, and deadens the recoil, but the labour of managing the gun is increased; and we cannot easily conceive, how a gun, which, together with its carriage, will probably weigh 13,000 pounds, is to be handled in a *sea way*. The method of poising it on three points, by means of a moveable lever and roller, is in our opinion still more objectionable; this mode of mounting guns is common on shore, where the roller is a fixture, generally having a double movement, serving at once to run out, and train the gun. The French and English coast batteries, offer many examples of this sort of equipment; but the violent shocks to which ship guns are subjected, would render this lever a very dangerous machine. In urging these objections, we admit that they *may be* all ill founded, but they strike us as those most likely to be brought against the gun in its present shape. In coast fortifications it might be made an exceeding formidable engine, as the objections mostly apply to its being placed on a moveable platform.

The proposition to arm merchant vessels with the new armament is equally facile, and the eight inch howitzer certainly large enough; for at present, as Mr. P. very justly observes, this class of vessels "are either obliged to have on board a cumbrous and excessively expensive establishment, both of men and materials, or to defend themselves badly." p. 280.

Whereas, he thinks, with a couple of guns of the weight of the ordinary twelve pounder, but of eight inch caliber, placed abaft, a tolerably good sailing vessel might make a very effectual resistance.

"Vessels armed in this manner, might make a vigorous running fight, and whatever might be the strength and boldness of the aggressor, he could not keep up the chase with impunity." p. 281.

We think we could suggest a better mode of equipping and arming merchant vessels, than the one given by Mr. P., but in case of attention being in any way drawn to his system, the alterations and modifications which must ensue, will proceed from abler hands than ours.

The seventh book, is a summary of the armament of the present classes of vessels, composing the navy, after the manner of Mr. Paixhans; which he evidently considers merely as a *succedaneum*, in case his *projet* should not be entirely adopted—for he concludes thus:—

"We are now going to see, in the eighth book, that we may have a still greater naval force than that just described; and that by means of some modifications in

the present mode of construction, the actual line of battle ships, even if armed in the manner proposed, would, in future, encounter adversaries, less costly and of simpler equipment, against which it would be difficult for them to contend." p. 284.

Mr. P's. eighth and last book, treats of the necessary modifications and changes that will take place from the introduction of his system, and of the various classes of vessels which may be employed. He recommends single decked vessels, which will carry, comparatively speaking, but a small number of guns: in reference to the size of these ships, he observes, that although a small bomb vessel, may destroy a large ship, we must not conclude from thence, that it will in future, be unnecessary to have any but small vessels; that there will be causes in which small vessels will be sufficient, yet it will be proper to have ships of various sizes.

"And the *maximum* limit in this case must be determined: not from the number of guns necessary for the destruction of a line of battle ship, armed in the present mode; for the smallest number of large bomb-cannon will more than suffice for this purpose; but this limit will be determined, by the two following conditions;—

"That the vessel must make as good headway in a heavy sea as a line of battle ship, and that she must be able to make good use of her guns in bad weather. But it will be easy to satisfy these two conditions, without having recourse to any colossal structures, since in the ships navigated by wind as well as in those moved by steam, we shall be freed from the necessity of having a great number of guns, in consequence of the intensity of power in each of the new guns; and of course, there need be no multiplied batteries, nor will as great a number of men be wanting to manœuvre the guns; there will be a corresponding diminution of stores and ammunition of every kind; and as a consequence of getting rid of all these embarrassments, the new ships may be constructed with lightness, and at the same time with a view to great stability, great height of battery, and great swiftness of sailing." p. 293.

In reference to the entire and satisfactory fulfilment of these conditions, particularly in combination, and which Mr. Paixhans seems to think a matter of election,—we have strong doubts; and those too based on the incontrovertible evidence of facts. In the first place, *great* height of battery, and *great* stability, are not easy of attainment, even if compatible in the class of vessels our author has in view; but the combination of these with the third, and perhaps the most important one,—swift sailing—we are certain, is not to be had at will. There is no single circumstance, which has set skill and science so much at defiance, as the velocity of ships. In certain classes of vessels, peculiar we believe to our own country, where from their size, or intended pursuits, every thing could be sacrificed to swiftness, this object has been attained with more certainty; but in larger ships, destined to purposes admitting of none, or but partial modifications with a view to this object, nothing is more uncertain than their rates of sailing. Frigates, constructed, whether from the most approved models, or in conformity to the scientific results, and best rules of naval engineers and architects, have been known



to fail in this most important quality; and notwithstanding that the theories of Newton and Euler have been aided by the practical researches of some of the ablest men since their day, the precise curves, or that just combination of forms which shall ensure the greatest degree of velocity, is still among the desiderata. So much depends, not only on the *form* of the hull, but on what is above it, and within it; that is, stowage, spars, rigging, and the disposition and adaptation of these to their several purposes. It is by no means wonderful, that in the economy and arranging of such jarring elements, amid such a complication of machinery, we should be led to error and disappointment in the results. But it must not be supposed, from what we have here stated, that the requisite qualities are not to be obtained to a sufficient degree, for all the purposes of the new mode of warfare, contemplated by this system: on the contrary, we believe there will be no more difficulty in carrying and fighting a battery of bomb-cannon, than any other, and that by attaining *this* point we have all that is necessary.\*

But by far the most important part of this book, indeed, of the work, we may say, is the plan of combining this new armament with steam navigation; and such is its importance to the United States, that it cannot be too strongly urged on the attention of government. The two great naval powers of Europe, are so deeply impressed with a conviction of the prominent part which this new element will take in future wars, the different aspect which these will assume, and the different results which may confidently be looked for in maritime affairs, that various experiments are actually in operation, to determine—not the practicability, for that is considered beyond a doubt,—but how far this shall supersede the present ordinary means of defence, and to what extent it shall be introduced, at present, in the cruising marine, as well as in coast defence. These are not the wild schemes of projectors, but the serious and well digested plans of such as have long regarded it as intended to operate changes, equally great in war, as in navigation and industry:—

"In 1816," says Mr. P., "an enlightened statesman did not hesitate to say publicly at the Institute, 'the most important result from the invention of steam-boats, will be the changes which will take place in maritime wars, and the power of nations;—it is certainly probable, (he added) that we have, in this invention, one of those experiments, which change the face of the world.'" p. 288.

The advantages of steam navigation are known to none better than to ourselves. On no nation has it conferred greater benefits; and no where has the art been carried to greater perfection. In point of strength, elegance, convenience, and swiftness, we yield to none. Indeed, in the latter very desirable quality, we are disposed to think we have exceeded all others; certainly, no greater degree of velocity has been obtained any where; and exertions

are still making with a view to improvements in all these particulars; and though we are aware, that some few of our steamers may approximate to a limit beyond which any increase of speed may be physically impossible; yet we are far from believing that this *maximum* velocity has been attained. The transition from an ordinary steamer, to one adapted to the purposes of war, is by no means great; and the situation of our country as it regards geographical peculiarities, as well as physical resources, would lead us to anticipate advantages, not less great, from its employment in war, than we have already derived from its application to ordinary navigation and the arts. A flotilla, *à la Paixhans*, the officers and crews of which should be completely drilled in the management of the *motive* power, as well as to the use of the new artillery, would present a formidable, not to say irresistible force. We are aware, that the bare idea of such a possibility, as that of rendering null, the splendid preparations we have of late years been making for naval war, of forcing the towering structure, with her three or four tiers of cannon, to yield to the smoky and unseemly steamer, will be violently to overthrow all our preconceived notions of sea-fights.—The aspirants for the fame of Duncan, Howe, and Nelson, will reluctantly yield their assent to a system, which to appearance promises so little—offers so few opportunities for fame and honours.—They cannot consent to relinquish their splendid visions of glory, for what they consider an humble, and petty warfare of steam boats;—but if the system of steam defence obtains in Europe, it *must be* adopted here:—if we will not lead, we must at least follow. Admitting for a moment, that the system should produce none of the effects contemplated by our author and others, and that the fleets of the world should continue to carry on their operations as heretofore,—the defence of our coast by steam, is not a whit the less important, or feasible. The great difficulty which all nations find in manning their fleets, and which has in fact been already recognised by that department of the government whose duty it is to provide for such contingencies, will be in some measure relieved by this species of force.—An incalculable advantage of steam warfare, is the comparatively slight degree of instruction necessary to qualify for efficient service on board such vessels. Under officers duly qualified, and selected with a view to these duties, the exercise of the guns, whether bomb-cannon or the usual ship guns, may be learnt in a short time: the men need not necessarily be seamen, but may be drawn from other sources. For service of this kind, we believe there are other classes of our population much more valuable than “seamen,” (we now use the word in its restricted sense.) The crews of the steamers may be recruited from landsmen, as well as from that hardy and active race of men employed in our inland water trade, who, though

unwilling to risk the "dangers of the seas," would cheerfully serve in a flotilla of this kind. It would be in perfect accordance with their previous habits; and their hardihood, intelligence, and local knowledge, peculiarly qualify them for the duties of steamers. Thus, at the commencement of a war, we should have on the spot most requiring immediate defence, a numerous class of persons, the best qualified for the purpose.—In case of sudden invasion, the *whole* population of the coast, may be considered competent to its defence, in either land or steam service; whereas the duties of *seamen*, as distinguished from the other classes of men who fill up the ranks of the navy, are various and complicated, and though not difficult of attainment, yet require some years of labour and practice, ere a man can dub himself "*sailor*."—The tactics of steam boats, though requiring both skill and practice, will be infinitely less difficult and complicated than the system of tactics for fleets, which depend for the success of their movements, on an element proverbial for instability; while the steam tactician has only to conceive his plan, and he is certain of its execution; he has only to determine on his mode of operation, and he is sure of effecting it: to the steam navigator no point of the compass is interdicted; he has neither head winds nor calms—instead of being at the mercy of the motive power, he wields it at will.

The details of the new vessels are interesting. Various modes of equipping and securing them are suggested, particularly as it relates to the steam vessels, the principal difficulties of which will be, in securing the machinery and paddles from the effects of shot.—The latter we should consider as claiming the greater degree of attention; and those who may feel disposed to give attention to these matters, as forming part of their future duties, (for such they will become,) will have full scope for ingenuity and invention. The machinery, apart from the paddles, we imagine, can be very readily secured: the sides of the vessels themselves may be so constructed as to protect it from assault in that direction, and the battery of a steamer being at each end of the vessel, and the power of locomotion in either direction equally easy and rapid, will, of course, render it entirely unnecessary to present any other part to the enemy; and the idea of *traverses*, as suggested by Mr. Paixhans, appears to us, to be exceedingly well calculated to secure this quarter, the only one which we conceive liable to direct and serious assaults. There are many modes of securing the different parts of the vessels from shot, suggested by our author, as by *traverses*, composed of wood, or wood and iron combined, &c. Much of this is intended merely as furnishing hints, on which to ground the basis of future experiments; but the immediate determination of them is not at all essential to the adoption of his system, either *partially* in the old vessels, or *entirely* in the new ones.



What we have said, however, must be considered as applying only to steamers, intended for harbour or coast defence.—The knowledge requisite for the construction and equipment of a steam fleet, which shall be adapted to all purposes of navigation and war, *on the ocean*, whether acting by themselves, or in conjunction with sailing vessels, must be acquired by future research and experiments, of which the small steamers will necessarily be the starting point. With regard to the comparative expense of the two classes of vessels, the difference is such as to form in itself a sufficient motive for an examination of its expediency and practicability. Reasoning analogically, we may form some estimate of the cost of our own establishment, from what Mr. P. says of the French navy :—

“In 1819, the minister declared, and subsequently repeated his declaration, that if the annual expense of the French marine was limited to forty-five millions, (nine millions of dollars,) it would have ceased to exist in 1830; and that even with an expenditure of sixty-five millions per annum; that is, seven hundred and fifteen millions, (one hundred and forty-three millions of dollars,) to 1830, it will at that epoch be reduced to thirty-eight sail of the line, and fifty frigates.”

A steamer, with bomb cannon, must take infinitely less to construct, and maintain, than a sloop, with a crew of one hundred and sixty men; yet we imagine there can be no comparison in point of efficacy. What chance would one of the largest sloops of war stand with an opponent of this description? Of the probable influence of such a system, if but *partially* successful, there can be but one opinion. The attack and defence of coasts, will be an entirely different matter to what it has hitherto been; blockades will be extremely difficult, if not impossible; and so peculiarly is this mode of defence adapted to the United States, that an energetic and judicious management of it, will, if we do not entirely mistake results, completely insure the integrity of our soil. We may venture to assert, that no ship of the present armament, would risk being caught in our water, by a steam-boat *a la Paixhans*; nor would a single ship of the line be able to blockade the Delaware, and lay a town under contribution. What would be the fate of blockading squadrons similar to those which lay undisturbed in the Chesapeake, the Delaware, the Sound, and other places, during the last war, if they should be attacked by a steam flotilla, even of the ordinary kind? They could not maintain their positions for a single hour. Should the enemy bring a similar force, this would be a still stronger reason for its adoption on our part; and the advantages we should possess over any nation crossing the ocean for the purpose of attack, are too obvious to need exemplification. The great amount of personal force which has formed the principal advantage of the British navy, will be in a measure rendered useless, as far as regards their skill and experience as *seamen*; and the 145,000

men with which the fleets of England were manned, will, in a warfare of this kind, be little better than 145,000 men of any other description.

"We may then hope, that a few thousand men, bred and nursed on the ocean, will not, in consequence of their skill, be able to dictate laws to the world; and that the iniquity of universal dominion, will henceforth be as difficult at sea, as on land." p. 348.

While writing these remarks, we have received Captain Ross's work on steam defence. Some parts of the introduction, (the only portion of the work we have yet read,) are so highly corroborative of the opinions and views we have expressed, and so plainly exhibit, at the same time, the degree of importance attached to this subject by the English, that we cannot refrain quoting a few passages. In speaking of steam, as still more applicable to war, than to commercial and mercantile purposes, he says:—

"There is abundant reason to believe, that it is fully felt, not only by the government itself, but by every naval officer who has bestowed the slightest attention on the subject; while, if it be true, as is generally understood, that our rivals and enemies are turning their attention very particularly to this object, it is the more incumbent on us, to see that no time is lost by ourselves, in taking such steps as may insure us that continued superiority at sea, on which our very existence depends."—*Introduction*, p. x., &c.

Further on:—

"In fact, it is notorious, that both the French and Americans, have been for some time training their officers,\* in this new art of steam navigation: while the former abound, not only in steam engines of our manufacture, but even in English workmen and engineers; a sufficient proof of their intentions on the subject, and of the importance which they now attach to it. If we do not absolutely know, that any other naval power has turned its attention to the subject, this, at least, is probable, or we may safely infer, that, conscious from experience of their inferiority as to warfare on the same old system, and hopeless of attaining, in an equal degree, the management of large vessels and fleets, they will gladly resort to a system far more practicable and economical; and one, which, from its requiring far less of what is called nautical knowledge, will bring their means to that equality, which may render their future enmity at sea most hazardous to our superiority, if not to our *existence*."

"This is a serious, but a true view of the subject; and without wishing to excite unnecessary alarm, not being an alarmist in disposition; it is difficult to reflect steadily on the question, without some feeling of doubt, whether the destiny of Great Britain, may not at length be involved in this very invention, whether its fate will not even be sealed, as soon as steam vessels shall supersede the present ones, among the nations of Europe, and become, what the latter scarcely ever can, the general naval warfare of the world." p. xiv. xv. &c.

Again, in p. 17 of *Introduction*, he says:—

"The system, in fact, will become a species of military, instead of a naval one; and they who should have been sailors, will be maritime soldiers, not seamen; and then will our superiority, as far as depends on seamanship, disappear; or we also shall become what they will be, and must learn to meet them on our own channel, and on our own shores, as we met them at Vittoria and Waterloo."

We have made these few extracts, in order, as we have said, to show the degree of importance which is attached to this subject

\* A mistake, we regret to say.

in England, and by English naval officers. A glance at the contents and the plates, convinces us, that Captain Ross has devoted much time and attention to the details, as well as the *ensemble*, of a system, to which he very justly attributes the most important consequences.

The dedication of his work, as well as its being "patronised by His Royal Highness, the Lord High Admiral," gives it a semi-official character, and shows that the strong language used by Captain Ross, is sanctioned by the acquiescence of his government.

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ART. X.—*St. Petersburg. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany and France.* By A. B. GRANVILLE, M. D. F. R. S. F. L. S. M. R. A. F. S. S. & M. R. A. S. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1324. London: 1828.

WE have copied only a small part of the list of Dr. Granville's titles, which fill twelve lines more, in very small type. His chief professional pursuit seems to be that of a "Physician accoucheur;" and we learn from his book, that he had been for twenty years surgeon in the British navy. The United States possess a famous *savant*, who has been celebrated as a "fellow of forty-nine societies;" but this London accoucheur may be denominated centifolious;—he is the flower of his tribe, with a hundred rustling leaves. Without furnishing a regular auto-biography, he makes himself known to his reader in every way:—we are brought acquainted with what he was; the writings that he has published; the offices which he enjoys; the great estimation in which he deems himself to be held by others, and the prodigious degree of his self-esteem and consequence. His volumes are dedicated, by permission, to his Most Gracious Majesty King George IV.; and if we confine ourselves to the external beauty of the page, and the admirable wood-cuts with which they are adorned, they may be pronounced worthy of the royal patronage,—"a dainty dish to set before a king." Here are two superlatively elegant, and very thick octavos, the fruits of an excursion of seventeen weeks' duration altogether, over more than four thousand miles. The quantity of matter, light or heavy, which they contain, is truly wonderful, when we consider the space which was achieved in so short a period, and the quality of the traveller at home—"a medical man, fully engaged in prac-



tice in such a metropolis as London ;” to say nothing of his avocations as a correspondent of half the republic of letters. It is some time since we have seen a more remarkable specimen of the art of book-making ; a specimen, indeed, to which nothing equal will be produced in our own country, until equal aid can be obtained from booksellers, printers, and engravers.

In the middle of July, 1827, Dr. Granville hied for St. Petersburg, as the medical attendant, the safe companion, and the easy friend, of the Russian Count Michel Woronzow and his fair countess, exalted and accomplished nobles, whose auspices ensured to him a favourable reception in the best circles, wherever they appeared together, independently of his being a clever man, with a full share of the *savoir vivre*, or *savoir faire*. Their route was that which is indicated above ; he reaches St. Petersburg at the four hundred and seventeenth page of his first volume, in thirty-five days after his departure from London—days spent in journeying seventeen hundred and sixty-five miles. Not enjoying a proportional latitude of space or remark, we cannot accompany him from city to city, or kingdom to kingdom ; but must be content with using a part of his evidence concerning Russia, which we shall offer as food for a general curiosity, that recent occurrences in Europe have freshened and animated. Our inquisitive and locomotive doctor, found or made opportunities of collecting information, ample or meagre, on nearly all ordinary topics :—it is an account of the Russian capital that he specially offers to the world ; but he communicates whatever he could extract or infer relative to the peculiar institutions and various resources of the empire at large. He is the latest witness among the British writers ;—which forms our chief motive for introducing to our readers, one who is more fluent than profound, and withal a true courtier, constantly intent on preserving the good graces of the foreign personages who honoured him with their courtesies. In this point of politic gratitude, he differs widely from his carping predecessors, Drs. Clarke and Lyall, who saw and painted every thing *en noir*—for whom, in Russia, every member of the government was a tyrant or profligate, every patrician a debauchee and oppressor, every merchant or dealer a rogue, every peasant a brutish slave, every priest a sot or hypocrite, every woman dissolute, every public functionary corrupt, every domestic a spy or pilferer, every national dish a poisonous mixture, every fair semblance a mere gloss or treacherous disguise.

We were at first tempted to place also at the head of this article, the title of another recent and popular work, in two sizeable volumes, in which more of Russia is described, from personal observation, by a British officer, who traversed the empire, and sojourned in St. Petersburg and Moscow, in the year 1822-3:

we refer to the tour of *Captain Jones*, of the Royal Navy. This commander, after being at sea nearly all his life, resolved to try a cruise on shore, and inspect the interior of ports which had "excited much interest in his breast, during tedious blockades." The imperial family of Russia distinguished him likewise at St. Petersburg, by a flattering notice, that has fructified, and procured for them all a rich harvest of admiration and praise. But the Captain is less of a general or set encomiast than the Doctor; he can find fault, and, in so doing, is not addicted to euphemism; and his style of narrative and cast of sentiment, smack of his professional education and habits. We shall have occasion to quote some of his statements and opinions. Within the few months past, the attention of the British politicians has been attracted to a single octavo, "*The Designs of Russia*," by Lieut. Colonel De Lacy Evans, who investigates the situation and views of the gigantic head of the Holy Alliance, with regard to the independence of the other nations, and particularly the integrity of the British power and dominions. We have this production, too, before us, and may find room for some of the colonel's principal suggestions. His alarm is not without foundation; nor is it new or peculiar. Similar appeals were made, many years ago, to the cabinets interested in the question. In 1739, Algarotti clearly foreboded the present enlargement and prepotency of Russia: Rousseau threatened the West with an invasion of the northern Tartars, and had a vision of the Calmucs under the colonnade of the Louvre. In 1812, Napoleon caused a volume to be prepared, on the *Progress of the Russian Power*, in which the fearful growth, tendencies, and objects of the continental rival of France, are exhibited and discussed with the broadest inquiry, and most elaborate minuteness and skill. Colonel Evans is not a peerless statesman nor practised writer, and much of his matter is too hypothetical and conjectural. He has condescended to advert to our republic, with speculations which are really so *pleasant*, that we cannot refrain from reciting them before we proceed with Dr. Granville. General Jackson will be the bugbear of England, as he has been of a part of his own countrymen. Colonel Evans, after having put Turkey into the grasp of Russia, and in array against Great Britain, continues thus:—

"Should the American general, now a candidate for the highest office in the United States, still survive, and be then, for instance, in his second or third presidency, (which is by no means impossible, being a remarkably hale and strong man,) he is one that would co-operate against the British ascendancy in Ireland, with a peculiar zeal and determination. His parents are said to have been exiled from that country, and he himself is understood to cherish for it a most fervent remembrance.

"The desire of conquest indulged in by our trans-Atlantic descendants, is, considering the nature of their institutions, sufficiently absurd; nevertheless, such is the fact: and there is no public man in all the Federacy, more likely to

push that policy to its uttermost, especially against us, than the individual just alluded to.

“The Canadas and some islands of the Western Main, are primary and unquestionable objects of their ambition. Now, if Ireland should be then in a disaffected or insurrectionary state—should some imitative phantom of a presidential government have been created within it, and be in a condition to fulminate, from any beleaguered fastness, seditious decrees resembling those now sent forth from the nascent republic of Egina—in what better mode could the American general promote the aggressive views on his own borders, than by preparing a number of small fast-sailing vessels or steamers, for the successive conveyance, as they are wanted, of arms, ammunition, and stores, to the insurgents? How are we to prevent these supplies being landed, in some of the multitude of fine ports which every where indent, (especially to the westward,) the Irish coasts? American cruisers or privateers would, also, under these circumstances, swarm in the Irish Channel and seas. A more obvious, an easier, cheaper, or more decisive diversion against the British power, could not, it is manifest, be effected. Is it by vainly attempting to conceal these matters, that they are to be guarded against?”

To return to our medical traveller. In passing from Dover to Calais, he successfully administered laudanum to the countess, for sea sickness, and recommends it to all who suffer this horrible qualm. At Ostend, he encountered Capo d'Istrias, the present Chief Magistrate of Greece, upon whom he lavishes encomiums for his talents, judgment, generosity, and refined devotion to the cause of the Greeks. Count Capo d'Istrias is a native of Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands, and was one of the Emperor Alexander's secretaries of state for the Foreign Department. At Aix-la-Chapelle, the doctor is reminded of the familiar, unreserved intercourse which subsisted between the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, on one side, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the celebrated English limner, when the latter drew the portraits of the three monarchs, which he had been commissioned to take by His Britannic Majesty. More than one eminent portrait-painter has commemorated as an inestimable advantage of his profession, the opportunity which it affords of familiar converse with the great and the illustrious in every elevated sphere and esteemed pursuit. At Cologne, our author discovered that a much larger quantity of *Eau de Cologne*, so called, is consumed in Europe, than is made in the town; just as the traveller may learn in Portugal, that vastly more Port wine is drunk abroad than is produced in the Portuguese vineyards. The excess of the nominal Bordeaux wine over the real product, is beyond all calculation. Of *Eau de Cologne*, about thirty-eight thousand bottles are annually exported from the place. Dr. Granville was struck with the timber-rafts on the Rhine, which are composed of many thousand trees, lashed together in layers, frequently from nine hundred to one thousand feet in length, and from sixty to eighty in breadth, manned by eight hundred men, who lodge in a small village of wooden huts, neatly erected on the float—an extraordinary spectacle on the whole. The great



literary machine at Weimar—*Landes Industrie-Comptoir*—the establishment for the translation and circulation of foreign books and the preparation of lithographic engravings—which may be said to inundate Germany with literature and science—astonished our traveller as much as the endless rafts. At Weimar, on witnessing the portentous energy of the Germans at the *table d'hôte*, he indulges himself, after the manner of Sterne, in a digression on *Stomachs*; condemning and ridiculing those physicians who *class* morbid stomachs and prescribe accordingly. Our doctor affirms that “one can no more find two stomachs, than two roses alike,” and that “the whole secret lies in learning how the stomach of the patient has been *educated*, and dealing with it conformably.” Dietetic hints are never amiss. *Eating* in Germany, at the ordinaries, was not the most delectable duty, for a stomach like the doctor’s, *finished* in London and Paris; but sleeping was still more difficult in what he terms a bachelor’s bed, which he piteously describes as follows:—

“We are to figure to ourselves a deep wooden cradle, (which, in the present instance, was made of highly polished mahogany,) about five feet four inches long, and just three feet wide, containing a hard, thick mattress at bottom, resting on a number of cross pieces of wood, and a full feather bed at the top, covered with the sheets, over which is laid, as the only cover, a puffy silk bag, the length and breadth of the crib, stuffed with the lightest down, and weighing consequently a mere nothing. Two square pillows, both filled with feathers, and a straw bolster of the same shape, intended to raise the former, are so arranged as to give them considerable inclination. These, from their great size, take up at least one-half of the length of the bed, so that to lie flat in it, is out of the question. A large proportion of the miseries of human life are really so many *bon bons*, compared to the misery endured in such a bed. If you attempt to stretch your legs, the solid footboard reminds you to keep your knees bent; if you turn on your side, again the poor knees are the sufferers, for you are sure of knocking them violently against the sideboards. The feather bed heats your loins—the down bag heats your chest—the feather pillows heat your shoulders—and by the time you are worked up into a fever, perspiration flowing from every pore, and drowsiness at last overpowering you—off flies, at an unlucky turn, the flimsy and untucked bag under which you were buried; and a chattering shiver of the frame awakens you to the full consciousness of bruised flesh, sore bones, broken back, and stiff neck, with parched mouth, and a dreadful headach into the bargain—the inevitable results of such a feathered nest.”

The music at Berlin, indemnified him for the miseries of the *cradle*; and he truly exclaims, when he had heard Winter’s new opera (*Das Unterbrochen Opferfest*)—“no person can form an idea of the difference between the performance of this, or any other piece of music, by a German orchestra and the orchestra of any other nation, who has not heard both.” Mademoiselle *Sontag* was the star or the magnet of the Prussian metropolis at this period. Several pages are devoted to a rapturous delineation of her person, and a learned analysis of her vocal powers and skill. The German language is proscribed as utterly unsuitable for the musical expression of the softer passions. Our doctor places the German next to the English tragedians, allows the Germans a

considerable degree of merit in the walks of genteel comedy, and represents *broad farce* to be decidedly their *fort*. For the instruction of the American faculty, we note that the knowledge of diseases in Prussia, as well as in many other parts of Germany which Dr. Granville visited, is in general sound, because founded on an excellent academical and medical education ; but that it is also occasionally eccentric, generally too systematic, and partakes of idealism ; while the treatment of diseases is too experimental and pharmacological. We shall now overleap still more of his route, and take him up at Strelna, eighteen versts from St. Petersburg. He informs us, that an uninterrupted line of sumptuous palaces, built in every variety of chaste, fanciful and imitative architecture, flanks the right side of the road, thence to the capital. They are the country-seats of opulent Russian families, who occupy them during the short-lived summer of the north. At St. Petersburg the Doctor became an inmate of Count Woronzow, and of course was admirably situated for all his purposes. He presents the city to his readers in the following picture :

"The general *coup d'œil* which the Imperial Residence of St. Petersburg presents to the traveller, is one of the most magnificent in Europe. It does not, like that of Naples and Constantinople, heightened by the magic effect of the surrounding country, convey the idea of beautiful nature and picturesque situation ; neither is the impression first received, on entering the spacious streets and extensive squares of St. Petersburg, like that which the capitals of London and Paris excite, when first beheld, imparting at once just notions of the wealth, splendour, and luxury of their inhabitants. But it surprises more than either, from the great number and magnitude of the public buildings, from the bold style of architecture which pervades every part, and from the total absence of those dark and wretched courts and lanes, the abode of the lowest classes, which, in other cities, obtrude themselves on the notice of the traveller, in the midst of grandeur and stateliness of exterior.

"It was not without some reason, that a French traveller newly arrived in this city, asked where the people lived ? 'Partout on ne rencontre que des palais et d'innombrables edifices,' he observed ; and the remark thus far was correct. No capital in Europe can, in this respect, be compared to St. Petersburg ; for no where else do we meet with buildings of such striking appearance, nor does any other city contain so many private houses, which might rival the palaces of Rome. St. Petersburg is, in fact, a city of palaces."

"St. Petersburg, according to the latest observations, is situated in latitude 59° 56' 31". This line passes precisely through the principal islands in the Neva, the observatory, and the Imperial Palace, at which latter point it is intersected by the meridian, 48° east of the island of Ferroe. The most important part of the town is placed on the left bank of the Neva, having a western aspect inclined to the north. Opposite to this part, are two large and three lesser islands, formed by the Neva and its branches, swarming with population, and crowded with public buildings and establishments. On the main land, eastward of the island, and stretching along the right bank of the river, is another division of the town, which is becoming every day more worthy of notice."

"One of the most remarkable and striking features of this great metropolis, is doubtlessly the Neva ; a river which, whether we consider its origin, its rapidity, great depth, and the beautiful transparent blue colour of its water, or the advantages it affords, stamps the character of the capital as one, on that account,

unrivalled in Europe. Travellers accustomed to behold only the muddy streams that traverse the principal cities of Europe,—impressed with the recollections of the clay-mixed currents which flow between the banks of the Thames, the Seine, the Po, the Arno, and Tiber, the Elbe, the Spree, and the Vistula—on approaching the embankments of the Neva, as it rushes past the palaces of St. Petersburg, must be struck at once with surprise and delight at the novelty of the scene."

"Independently of the Neva, St. Petersburg has the advantage of being watered by other smaller rivers, which, with three handsome canals, serve to fix very distinctly the limits of the different districts, while they also add to the beauty and salubrity of the town, as well as to the accommodation of the inhabitants; for in summer most of these are navigable, and all of them communicate, in some way or other, with the *Fluvius Fluviorum*, the Great Neva."

"When I beheld for the first time both banks of the Neva lined with such magnificent buildings, and their varied architectural beauties reflected in the unruffled mirror of the most majestic river I had ever seen, my surprise equalled my admiration. Numerous vessels were sailing down its stream, pleasure boats and gondolas plied on the still surface; and, to give to the whole a still more interesting appearance, the hulls of a ship of war of three decks, and of a seventy-four, both launched at the time of our arrival at St. Petersburg, were lying in front of the superb building of the Academy of Arts.

"The charm of this scenery, and that of the still more imposing spectacle presented by a range of stately palaces running westward for the space of a mile on the left embankment, are not lost even on a winter's morning, when the weather is clear, and the sky of that deep azure which is alone to be seen in frosty regions."

"A few days after our arrival, the Count requested one of his aid-de-camps, the Prince Herheoulidzeff, a Circassian nobleman, whose amiable disposition and refined manners have won the affections of a large circle of friends, to accompany a medical friend and myself, to see the interior of the Admiralty. The elevated tower of this building, offers an excellent opportunity of taking a periscope bird's eye view of the city; we at the same time ascended to the external gallery placed around the lantern, which, surmounting the dome, serves as a base to the beautiful and richly gilt spire that rises from this point, eighty-five feet high. In this situation, we found ourselves at an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the Neva; and never did a more magnificent spectacle greet the eye of an inquiring traveller, than burst upon us, when we stepped out on the circular balcony. The day was one of the finest seen in this climate. An uninterrupted sunshine lighted up every part of the surrounding panorama, and there was a transparency in the atmosphere, which made every object still more conspicuous.

"The first impression received on looking around, when hundreds of fine palaces, colonnades, statues, and towering spires, with not a few specimens of the pure Grecian style of building, attract the attention, would lead one to imagine oneself suddenly transported to a newly erected city of Greece, in the time of Pericles. But, when we connected those different objects with the long, straight, and wide streets, flanked with houses of various but generally handsome designs—when we marked the bustle of the multitude—the great and motley variety of costumes, most of them picturesque—the *bizarrie* of the different vehicles that glided before us, some training silently along the handsome area that lay immediately below us, intersecting each other in a thousand directions; others rapidly coursing on low wheels, with horses that are taught antics and gambols in their course—now and then a stately carriage drawn by four horses, guided by a long-bearded coachman, whose waist is compressed by a silken sash, with a square cap of crimson velvet placed diagonally on his head, and who was heard urging the distant leaders, under the control of a little urchin; we were recalled in our imagination to present times, and to reality, and we surveyed with admiration this youngest of the European capitals, and the capital of the largest empire in Europe."



A model of St. Petersburg, on a scale without example, was sent thence to London during Dr. Granville's visit. It was executed by an Italian artist, Signor Rossi, and includes every building in all the various and most minute details, with a strict observance of the proportions, distances and relative positions. This work occupies more than sixty feet in breadth, and seventy-four in length, and filled five large wagons. The population of the Russian metropolis, which, in 1801, was 230,000, is now 320,000. It is continually expanding by the addition of magnificent palaces and churches, besides the new streets and squares which business creates. By law, the name of the proprietor or tenant of every house is inscribed on some conspicuous part of it. The footways, paved with white granite flags, are raised three or four inches above the general level of the streets, most of which are from sixty to one hundred and twenty feet wide. There are not fewer than seventy bridges, one half of which are of granite, and eight or ten of iron; but no permanent one has been attempted over the main river, on account of the floating ice. The quays of the Neva, and canals, deserve to be styled magnificent. They are, in the ensemble, absolutely unrivalled. The distinction between the fashionable and unfashionable districts of St. Petersburg, is as strongly marked as it is in London. Every large city, in fact, even in republics, has a *Court-end*, where the more wealthy and refined are supposed to be collected, and either just claims, or false airs, of superiority, are particularly prevalent. Walking is not *à la mode* in the Russian capital, though pedestrians have no where more comfort and security, and more "points of view and objects of interest." Authority keeps the pavements clear and clean, and sweeps away all the mendicants. It is indispensable that all fashionable visits should be paid, all dinner parties attended, in a coach and four—a custom of which Captain Jones complains as somewhat expensive. The public means of conveyance to and from St. Petersburg, are as numerous as those to be found in any other country. Private carriages are seldom drawn by fewer than three, and often by four, six, and eight horses. The national vehicle, the *Drosky*—a bench with springs and cushions on four wheels—did not gain the favour of Captain Jones. He considers the motion as "absolutely tormenting," and the exposure dreadful. The Russians have gorgeous equipages and fine horses. The number of vehicles of all sorts used in the capital, has been estimated at fifty thousand. A *maitre d'hôtel*, and the cook of a patrician, will not go to market on foot. Every man in good circumstances keeps his carriage. In May 1827, a steam vessel, larger than a first rate frigate, began to ply between London and St. Petersburg, and performed the voyage in nine or ten days.

The Russian capital, according to Dr. Granville, is not excellently provided with hotels or great inns, but this in part is owing to "the ready hospitality of the upper classes of society, frequently imitated by the wealthy merchants and the middle classes of inhabitants." A foreigner, well introduced, may count upon being asked to dine out almost daily. Captain Jones, on the contrary, asserts, that probably there never was a capital "so little distinguished for hospitality;" and this, he adds, is a general complaint, which he had no particular reason to make, for he received "more invitations than his neighbours." Of good society, the classes are as numerous as in the other great capitals of Europe;—with regard to the ladies, Dr. Granville thinks, that in point of manners, and general dignity of deportment, they yield to none of the most eminent of the fair sex elsewhere; and some of them he deems superior, in accomplishments and the more solid advantages of education. Of the Russian merchants resident in St. Petersburg, the younger part do not differ from persons of the same age and order in Germany. Many of the older have relinquished the native dress. A considerable part, (about one ninth,) of the population of St. Petersburg, consists of foreigners, of whom the most numerous are the Germans, next to them the French, and then the English. The latter mix less in society with the natives than they did formerly. It is no longer the policy of the government to tempt foreigners to settle in the empire, except as colonists. Notwithstanding the great proportion of strangers, and its influence upon the general character and manners of the inhabitants, our author believes that almost every custom connected with the religion, habits, amusements, and peculiar mode of living of the Russian, is as strongly illustrated in every part, and on every occasion, at St. Petersburg, as in Moscow. Yet, we should infer that the former city represents less strongly and comprehensively, the mass of the native population, than any other European metropolis. The Emperor Nicholas himself, said to the Doctor:—

"Allez à Moscow—Vous verrez une ville qui mérite à tout égard l'attention d'un voyageur. Vous nous voyez ici (à St. Petersburg) dans des habits tout neufs, que nous tachons de porter le mieux possible; mais à Moscow on voit le Russe tel qu'il est, on decouvre ce qu'il a été, et on peut juger par là ce qu'il pourra devenir un jour. Certes, l'ancienne capitale de la Russie doit offrir des réflexions intéressantes à une personne instruite et sans préjugés."

Dr. Granville speaks favourably of the climate of St. Petersburg, against which, in the winter, precautions and defences abound, that counteract or defeat its inclemency. He was delighted with that hyperborean season;—he treats it as a luxury, when "the ground is covered with snow, the rivers and canals frozen, the air pure, and the sky serene." So is it in our North American climate; and we may repeat after him—"one feels

then more than usual energy and elasticity, more inclination to exercise, digests his food better, has excellent nights, grows robust, keeps disease at bay, and *smiles at the doctor.*" In general, the snowy days in the year, from October to May, amount to eighty or ninety,—and the quantity of snow is immense. Storms and drifts are frequent. The Aurora Borealis appears, on an average, twenty-one times annually. There are so few diseases of the chest, catarrhs, and defluxions, and feverish colds, in the Russian capital, that our traveller was "quite surprised, on hearing consumption quoted as an endemic complaint." *Determination of the blood to the head* is common, and ascribed to the use of stoves in confined rooms: *scrofula* exists in great force; *scarlet fever* and *erysipelas*, prevail more than in any other capital of the same extent; and the Doctor testifies, that at least one out of every three persons of both sexes, labours under the *hemorrhoids*, and foreigners seldom escape. This malady he avers to be strictly indigenous. He describes, in abundant detail, the means employed to preserve a warm temperature in the Russian dwellings, and particularly the petch or stove, which is unique, and which he celebrates as by far a more rational and effectual mode of warming a house, than either the coal-grate of England, the blazing hearth of France, or the iron-stove of Germany. He dwells, through six pages, upon that great winter luxury of the Russians, their peculiar bath, which no tourist fails to mention, but which every one has not courage to try. Dr. Granville "determined to ascertain with his own eyes, and by his own experience, the nature and form of such a bath," and narrates every appearance and incident in the course of his enterprise; still, we prefer the report of Captain Jones, as less *lengthy*, and more quaint and honest, and shall therefore proceed to quote the latter:—

"Having seen and heard so much of the Russian baths, we determined to try the effect of one, contrary to the advice of our medical friends and others, many of whom had been born and lived nearly all their lives in Russia, without venturing the experiment. We accordingly repaired to that which is esteemed the best in this city; and I will describe the whole thing precisely as it was administered. The baths are private, and only contain one person. First, there is a dressing-room at a moderate temperature, with cushions and conveniences for the toilette. When undressed, a fellow presents himself stark-naked, and conducts you into the bath, a good sized room, having a bench like a bedstead, with a slight rise for the head. At the opposite side are fitted up shelves like flower stands, which terminate with a similar bench or bedstead, to be subsequently used. The bath is at a high but not oppressive temperature, and is furnished with several pipes, communicating with water, from the freezing to the boiling point.

"You first of all sit down on the bench, while he forms a lather and scours your head well, after which, he prepares a bundle of soft shavings, with soap and hot water, when he obliges you to lie down at full length, while he curries you all over on both sides. After this, you stand up and are rinsed with tepid water, when he prepares a bunch of birch leaves, and obliges you to mount by the shelves, or steps, to the upper bench before described. He now throws wa-



ter on a hot iron, which produces such a vapour or steam, that it is almost impossible to support the heat: he then obliges you to lie down, and, with the birch leaves, performs the same operation he had previously done with the shavings, except that while you are roaring out with pain from the heat, and begging to be relieved, yet, afraid to lift your head, because every inch in height, from the vapour ascending, causes some increase in the intenseness of the heat, the fellow coldly affects indifference, and laughs at your request, or sings a few words of a song. At length he relieves you, when, jumping down as hastily as possible from a heat which really struck me as red hot, and I thought must have brought the skin off, the fellow adroitly seizes the moment you are on your legs, to pour buckets of cold water on your head. The first gives a violent and unexpected shock, which you instantaneously recover; and the second produces a most delightful glow, a perfect elysian feel, which you would willingly continue; but, fearful of checking the perspiration too long, the bath is brought to a higher temperature, and, when the pores are again open, and perspiration appears, the Russian bath finishes, you return to your dressing-room, wrap warmly up, get into your carriage, drive home, lie down on your bed much relaxed for an hour, after which you feel quite restored, and are fit for any thing. Indeed, two hours after, I joined a large party at dinner, with a most excellent appetite. The price of a private bath is two rubles and a half, and I gave one to the attendant. The common ones vary from ten to fifty copecks; they are merely large rooms, constantly filled with vapour. The bathers take their own birch leaves with them, and mutually scour each other, but, as they cannot have cold water inside, they either plunge into the river, as we marked at Helsingfors, or if it is winter, the yard being full of snow, they roll themselves in it, and then return to the bath for a moment, to restore perspiration. After this, they dress as usual, and walk home, or remain in the cold, washing their clothes. This must be the effect of habit, as it certainly would be extremely dangerous for a stranger to be so exposed to the action of the air, after being so much relaxed. Fortunately, the Greek religion requires ablution before attending the church, and, equally fortunately, the attendance is exacted twice a week, so that the lower classes by this means ensure health and cleanliness of body, which otherwise, from the length of time they wear their garments, (as I have before noticed,) could not be preserved.

“Upon the whole, I must say that these baths present a greater want of delicacy, than it is possible to imagine in civilized society; and yet, within these few years, they have been much reformed. Originally, there was no distinction of sexes, both promiscuously entering the same bath, and rendering mutual assistance. Indeed, in many places, the old custom is not abolished, and in all it is not considered indelicate to enter the court appropriated to the females, who continue their cold ablutions, apparently unconscious of shame. Added to this, it is said, that for a small gratification to the proprietors or attendants, they make no difficulty in clandestinely admitting visitors into those baths that are supposed to be exclusively appropriated to the use of younger females. In short, it is impossible to conceive any public custom, or establishment, which produces more immoral conduct between the two sexes. Having, as a traveller, gratified my curiosity, I do not feel any desire to repeat a Russian bath.”

The Winter Palace, so called among the imperial mansions at St. Petersburg, occupies an area of four hundred thousand square feet. There are from ninety to one hundred principal rooms on the first story. Neither the Tuileries nor the palace at Versailles, possesses any saloon so rich and magnificent as the great hall of St. George. Another of the apartments, the military gallery, one hundred and eighty feet long, is entirely covered with half-length portraits of the general officers, who signalized themselves in the Russian service during the war with

France. It is asserted, that upwards of two thousand persons habitually reside in the *Winter Palace*, and even a larger number, when the emperor is in St. Petersburg. Every writer on the domestic habits of the Russians, has cited the populousness of their households. Dr. Granville experienced astonishment at the number of the servants in the great families;—generally ten times more than can be properly occupied. He complains, however, that during his apparition in St. Petersburg, he never once cast his eye on that useful being ycleped a housemaid; and a Russian officer of distinction emphatically remarked to him—“with all these regiments of domestics, there is not a woman any where to make your bed, or dust your room, both operations being performed by men, than which nothing can be more odious in my sight.” Assuredly, there is no ground for a similar lamentation in Great Britain, especially in the country inns. Earlier travellers in Russia, had the most florid stories to relate, of the princely, oriental style of living and thronged assemblages among the *grandees*, many of whom vied even with the sovereigns, in the pomp and extent of their establishments. Our doctor states that the practice of keeping house on a scale of such magnitude, is completely abolished in St. Petersburg, where a change has been wrought, as in every other capital of Europe, “from show, number, and noise, to a tasty arrangement of chaste ornaments and useful furniture, the selection of a few persons, and quiet conversation.” The quantity of champagne which he saw quaffed in the Russian metropolis, astounded him; but he witnessed much less of inebriety among the multitude, than he expected to see. His review of the national dishes, or favourite food, must destroy the appetite of all fasting readers, with other than Slavonian or Teutonic palates. No national cookery can boast of a greater variety of dishes and sauces; but the renowned Kitchener, as a declared enemy to ascendent fermentation, would, we think, have rejected the whole. Captain Jones relates of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Moscow, that they now eat *potatoes* with avidity, but at first would neither plant nor touch them, “saying that they were the devil’s fruit, given to him on the occasion of his complaining to God that he had no fruit, when he was desired to search in the earth for some, which he did, and found *potatoes*.”

At the beginning of his second volume, Dr. Granville adventures upon the topics of the Imperial family, and the Imperial government, “with great diffidence and hesitation.” Captain Jones also handles the Royal personages, in the most civil and grateful manner, but not with the delicate touches and fine flourishes which distinguish the Doctor’s management. The present Emperor—Nicholas, appeared to the Captain, to possess every

requisite quality to form a great prince. He saw him first at Plymouth, in 1817, and found him at St. Petersburg, where he experienced much personal kindness from him, "a good-looking young man, about six feet one, very little altered since his visit to Plymouth." Alexander was Emperor when Jones saw the court, and of him and his amiable consort, he affirms that "personages more truly great and good never existed." At court, the empress, and the empress mother, enchanted our worthy tar—the latter put various questions to him, "finishing with the usual French compliment, *Je suis charmée, &c.*" The elder dowager has a "tall, commanding person, holding her head erect, walking with much majesty, is fond of state and ceremony, and affects the air of the late Catherine, whom she is said to resemble in appearance." Alexander's person was so familiar to Europe directly, and is so well known in America by engravings, that we scarcely need copy the Captain's portrait of "a full-faced, fresh-coloured, good looking man, with light hair, rather bald, but large whiskers, and about five feet nine inches high." The Grand Duke Michael, himself welcomed the Captain at the artillery-school, and conducted him through the hospitals of the Imperial guards. His highness had "the gruffest voice for a young man" that his protégé ever heard, and gave a specimen of his severity as a disciplinarian, in this mode. The guard was not turned out for him in one of the hospitals. The party proceeded to the wards, when the officer of the guard came like a culprit:—"the Duke gave him *a deuce of a wigg*, and put him under arrest," but soon turned to the Captain, and observed with a smile, that it was only to frighten the delinquent. We do not *know* what kind of operation *a wigg* is; we suppose it may be some process with the hair, like the deuce of a pinching or pulling of the ears, which Napoleon used to give to those with whom he talked closely and amicably, as Father Escoïquiz hath particularly testified.

\* According to Dr. Granville, the Emperor Nicholas was thirty-two years of age on the 7th July 1827, and then full of health and energy. He was educated with great care and judgment, and studied the art and science of military operations, under very able masters and veteran officers. In 1816, he travelled extensively in foreign countries, for improvement. He married a daughter of the king of Prussia, and has proved a fond and faithful husband. His application to business is regular and severe. Dr. Granville saw him walking and riding abroad, with the empress alone, and stopping to converse familiarly with persons whom he recognised. He is, on the whole, an intelligent, vigilant, intrepid, and liberal monarch, whose personal character and political principles, our Doctor thinks, are "so many guarantees of the safety of the confidence which other sovereigns



have placed in him," with regard to the system of universal peace. How far that confidence has been confirmed or shaken by the rationale or prosecution of the present war against Turkey, will, probably, soon transpire. The physician-accoucheur does not pretend to be a politician, but as Lieutenant Colonel De Laey Evans writes professedly as such, we shall extract here, some passages of that section of his pamphlet which is headed "Provisional Government,—Alexander, Nicholas"—and which exemplifies his spirit generally, and does rather more honour to his sagacity and accuracy, than our quotation about General Jackson.

"The Czar has just invested some Muscovite *Senator*, as he is termed, with the unlimited government, by anticipation, of '*All the Provinces* which shall be occupied by his armies *beyond the Danube*.' the Principalities being included in this investiture.

"Now, the *second* province *beyond* the Danube, (Roumelia,) being the very next one to that now actually occupied by the heads of the Russian columns, will enable the senator to extend the wand of his high office over the waters of the Mediterranean. How many more beyond these two provinces are to be comprehended under the ample '*all*,' it might be hazardous to conjecture; but, certain it is, that, whatever may be the moderation of the Czar, his armies cannot stop there,—they must absolutely go on, or recede.

"But we have been told of the moderation and good faith of the Emperor Alexander, and now the same qualities are as lavishly bestowed on the Czar Nicholas. The former is indeed well known to have been of an amiable disposition, and of great amenity and goodness of heart, whose memory therefore well deserves being cherished by his subjects. He was a successful, indefatigable administrator in all the departments; a martinet in military details, but destitute of the higher qualifications of that or any other art; a civilian by temperament; and, though incapable of creating great plans, labouring with a laudable and unwearied assiduity on those that were handed down to him by his celebrated progenitors. Furthermore, it may fairly be assumed, that, in his greatest peril, he evinced a calm fortitude; and, in the hour of victory, was not devoid of equanimity. Here his panegyric ceases.

"Fickleness, political immorality, and, to use a gentle term, political duplicity of the deepest die, are flagrantly distinguishable in his public deportment in other respects. From the treaty of Tilsit, or at least from the interview at Erfurt, he appears to have been totally deluded, perverted, or subdued by the magic superiority of Napoleon's genius. He came into Austria, to assist the Emperor Francis; soon after, he joined in an attack on that Prince, and accepted, as his share in the spoil, Austrian Galicia. He entered the North of Germany, ostensibly to restore the then profoundly and not undeservedly oppressed Prussian king; he was almost instantly beaten, and bribed into an iniquitous compact, which transferred to him a good portion of his Prussian friend's dominions. He now required, that his brother-in-law of Stockholm should imitate this memorable versatility, and declare war against England. The Swede refused to violate his engagements. Alexander invited the subjects of his relative to forswear their allegiance,—made pecuniary tenders to the Swedish soldiery,—invaded Sweden,—permanently possessed himself of those commanding stations and bulwarks of the Baltic, Finland, Bothnia, Aland,—leagued with an infamous party of boyards against their sovereign,—and, in short, compassed the deposition of the imprudent Gustavus.

"For years he appears to have been perfectly content to witness, and even aid in the open violence or flagitious machiavelism, by which the ancient monarchies of western and southern Europe were successfully usurped or subverted. He pandered, in truth, it may be said, to the terrific and wide-sweeping career of the French emperor, on the condition, (and that only partially con-

ceded,) that he might himself be permitted quietly to dismember, in a more gradual manner, the states of his weaker neighbours.

"It was not the generous sympathy, or the enlarged and magnanimous statesmanship of the Autocrat, which made him a chief actor in the emancipation of the nation. Far from it. He would have been—(deny it who can!)—an accomplice,—but the infuriate presumption of Napoleon would insist on his being also a degraded dependent."

"Had he, indeed, succeeded in peaceable times, to a constitutional authority, he might, and probably would, have been a well-principled and beneficent prince; but having, in effect, been born to a military one, he has performed the rôle allotted to him by the accident of birth, and fulfilled his part in the pursuits of a characteristically aggressive domination. And so it is that he contrived to appropriate districts, states, or provinces, in Europe and Asia, of more than double the extent of the British empire, besides a prodigious tract, to which he laid claim and sent colonies, on the continent of America.

"Scarcely any adjoining power has escaped the consequences of this purloining and incorporating system,—even China not excepted. It is but recently, 1823, that seven Khauns of the Kirghis and Calmuck tribes, exchanged the supremacy of Pekin for that of St. Petersburg. Accordingly, the population of these dominions, which, at the accession of Alexander, was under thirty-six, amounted at his decease, by the lowest computation, to fifty-four or fifty-five millions."

"Of the present emperor, less, of course, is known. When with the armies in France and Germany, he was scarcely twenty years of age, and not being heir to the crown, attracted little observation. His fondness, however, for the kingly profession of arms, or at least for the semblance of it, military organization and arrangement, especially in the higher and more scientific branches, has been constantly and unequivocally displayed; while his personal intrepidity and firmness were no less conspicuous during the insurrectionary movement, at the period of his accession; and which, it is averred, (by those who appear not unacquainted with the state of that country,) had considerable ramifications; but the immediate explosion of which, we may certainly attribute, in a very great degree, to the fermenting inaction of the army. A large unemployed army is every where a dangerous implement. The remedy has been now adopted.

"On the accession of Nicholas, an opinion, pretty nearly in the following words, was expressed by one of the highest functionaries of the empire, whose name, were it right to be mentioned, would carry with it, even in this country, a degree of authority. '*Russia has now an emperor, whose character is marked by much stronger traits, and who is of a far higher ambition than distinguished his late brother; but those qualities will not suddenly reveal themselves. They will be gradually disclosed by his public conduct.*' The truth or inaccuracy of this opinion, will soon, from the greatness of the pending events, be resolved. \* \*

"As to the reigning autocrat, although it is but the other day the diadem has descended to him, has he not already found time to prosecute successfully an aggrandizing policy? The ink is scarcely dry, which has signed away to him, by means of a most indefeasible exercise of force, the banks of the Araxes; and yet it is concluded that the same hand will gratuitously reject the splendid and incomparably superior prize, that now lies nearly prostrate for acceptance."

Captain Jones adverts to the character of the Grand Duke Constantine as once notoriously reprobate, but as having undergone a reform that has rendered him comparatively respectable and popular. His final renunciation of his right of succession to the throne, in 1825, and his tranquil acquiescence since under the sway of his younger brother, are traits which entitle him to more interest and attention, than are due to any other contemporary prince not invested with a diadem. He is commander in chief of the

Russian and Polish forces in Poland, and resides at a country-seat near Warsaw. Dr. Granville obtained an introduction to him, in the Polish capital, on his return from St. Petersburg. He delineates him as a corpulent person, above the middle stature, though not so tall as either of his brothers ; with a "very military appearance," and the tone and habits of a rigid tactician. He confines himself entirely to his military jurisdiction, and has conciliated the favour of both the Russian and Polish armies, which constitute his exclusive public care. His Imperial Highness, after his divorce from his first grand-dutchess, of the family of Cobourg, married a lady of inferior pedigree and rank, to whom he remains steadfastly attached. In 1822, Alexander obtained from him, that solemn relinquishment of his right to the throne which was disclosed only on the emperor's death, and his ratification of which, enabled Nicholas to grasp the sceptre. The motive of Alexander is alleged to have been his repugnance to the devolution of the crown on the offspring of the second dutchess:—Whether Constantine acted from personal fears, or self-distrust, or magnanimous disinterestedness, patriotic or fraternal sensibility, is a problem which we shall not undertake to solve. His grandmother gave him his name with a view to another empire, which may have been promised by both Alexander and Nicholas, as the price or alternative of his concession. The metropolis on the shores of the Marmora might be preferable to that on the banks of the Neva.

At the Russian court, there is no kneeling to either the Emperor or Empress ; and the kissing of hands takes place only with the two Empresses. No more humble obeisance to the sovereign is required than "a profound inclination of the head," on his appearance, and departure. The simplicity of the forms is strikingly contrasted with the fantastic pageantry of the scene and the original character of the despotism.

We conclude from both verbal and printed relations, that uncommon pains are taken by the Imperial family to please all strangers who are brought within their notice. They issued personally, the most liberal directions for facilitating that particular inspection of the palaces and public foundations, which Jones and Granville were understood to have in view. The latter was not present at any of the imperial entertainments, but the Captain enjoyed the good fortune to be invited to a ball and supper at the empress mother's, and has commemorated the circumstances as follows :—

"In the evening we arrived in the ball-room at a little before eight, at which hour precisely the two empresses entered ; the reigning one, after bowing generally to the company, selected the Grand Duke Nicholas, and walked a *polo-noise* with him, after which she did the same with Sir Charles Bagot, and two or three officers of high rank, when she addressed some of the ladies, and then



taking her seat, waltzing and quadrilles began. The Dowager, upon coming in, entered into and continued in conversation chiefly with the *corps diplomatique*. There were five hundred persons present; the two halls (St. George's and the White one) were brilliantly illuminated, and the whole had a gay effect; the dancing was in the latter, while the former was laid out with card and chess tables; and in a recess on each side of the throne, there was a grand display of old and massy gold plate, arranged to great advantage, and from behind which refreshments were served to the company by persons who were unseen. One salver, of the age of Peter the Great, was ornamented with anchors and grappnels embossed. The empresses occasionally promenaded till eleven, and conversed with a select few; when supper was announced, and we found it most tastefully arranged, as if in an orangery or conservatory, for we approached the table through alleys of orange trees, bearing fruit, and found the tables ornamented with the choicest exotic flowers. Two tables, forming a T, but separated, occupied the centre; at the upper one were the imperial family, chief officers of state, full ambassadors, and their ladies. At the lower one sat the *corps diplomatique*, and the strangers who had been introduced; the latter were only four in number.

"The natives were at different tables, placed to the greatest advantage for effect. There was a great display of plate, the supper was good, and the wines excellent. The dowager empress came round, and spoke to every person at our table. She asked me, if I was pleased with it, and thought it magnificent. After we had been about forty minutes at table, the empress retired, when a most unexpected, extraordinary, but amusing scene took place—a general scramble for the good things that were left, particularly at the imperial table; generals, counts, and subs, with their gold laced coats, pocketing without mercy, and struggling to outdo the domestics, who did not appear to pay them much respect, or to be willing to allow them to carry off the spoils quietly; and in five minutes there was a perfect scene of devastation; even the very candles were carried off by the attendants, and to the blaze of splendour which we had just witnessed, succeeded darkness scarcely visible.

"It is too common to form a judgment of, and condemn a whole nation, from local circumstances; and, without reflection, one might be led to judge harshly of the state of society in this country, from the above scene; but upon mature reflection and inquiry, this would not be justified. By the custom of the country, what has once been put upon the tables at an imperial *fête*, can never be brought into use again for the family, and consequently the fragments become the perquisites of the attendants.

"Dancing recommenced in the ball-room; but precisely at midnight the empresses retired, and the company separated as fast as they could case themselves in their furs (the thermometer being at eleven degrees) and find their carriages. Upon the whole, it was a most pleasant and gratifying evening. The gentlemen preponderated in a striking degree over the ladies, there not being more than a hundred of the latter; it not appearing to follow at all as a matter of course, that because the husband is eligible to be invited, or to attend at court, his wife is also admissible. The dancing was extremely elegant; but I cannot say much for the display of beauty, whatever I may do for that of diamonds, the profusion of which on the persons of the two empresses, particularly the dowager, exceeded any thing it is possible to imagine. We were particularly struck by the miniature of Paul, encircled with large diamonds, which his widow wore at her neck, and appeared to take particular pains to expose to view, as if she gloried in doing honour to his memory, and delighted to confront his enemies.

"The deposed Georgian royal family was present; it consists of the queen, the widow of the Tzar George Hemaclevitch, her two daughters and two sons. The former are said to have been pretty; but if so, time, that destroyer of all sublunary things, has made dreadful ravages on them. They wore small round coifs on their heads, which, as well as the rest of their dress, were by no means becoming.

"The princes were in a sort of Russo-Georgian costume, and wearing daggers richly mounted. The whole of the family appeared melancholy and unhappy;

they have precedence next to the imperial family; but, deprived of liberty, where can happiness be found? Bondage is still bondage, however highly the chains may be gilt.

"The princess of Wirttemberg was certainly the prettiest woman and best dancer in the room, and her father (the dowager-empress's brother) was the ugliest man, having a large wen on his forehead.

"The galleries round both the halls were filled with spectators; the one in the ball room with those apparently of the common sort, while that of the upper room had a display of well dressed females.

"We were rather surprised next day by a visit from some of the court servants; we gave them ten roubles, with which they were perfectly contented. The livery is green, with red cuffs and collars, not unlike that of Monsieur in France."

Dr. Granville does not overlook the play-houses of St. Petersburg, which are numerous and well-appointed. They include French, German, Italian, and English theatres. The Russian opera has an excellent orchestra, and some eminent performers. There, our author saw upwards of four hundred people of all ages on the stage for the pantomime ballet, "with real Cossack horses, mounted by that singular militia." The costumes and the dances were those of all the different nations ruled by the Imperial sceptre. Such an exhibition must be exceedingly curious. The French comedy is well sustained; "and the German opera as firmly established and organized as it is in Berlin or at Vienna." The Russian play-bills equal in size one side of the Times or Morning Herald newspapers. One bill serves for all the Imperial theatres, as they are under the same government administration. Our author remarks that the bills are in themselves emblems of the polyglot character of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, "for they offer, in three wide columns, seldom less than six or eight full length advertisements of plays or other dramatic entertainments, in three and frequently four different languages, Russian, French, German, and Italian." The office for the general management of the theatres, he adds, is regularly organized as a part of the Imperial household. It is called *Le Comité de la Direction Supérieure des Théâtres Impériaux*, which consists of a principal member and three others, besides secretaries, clerks, and medical gentlemen to attend the *employés* as well as the performers, in case of need.

The Russian metropolis is not without its musical clubs and Philharmonic Societies. Our doctor, who writes in the strain of a passionate amateur and deep cognoscente, expatiates with ecstasy, upon the ability of the dilettante violin players, and the concerts of the court-singers, *les chantres de la Cour*, who are reserved for the imperial chapel. We shall indulge ourselves in quoting him, in reference to the vocal treat, and a species of instrumental music peculiar to Russia:

"I feel it impossible accurately to convey an idea of the various impressions and emotions which this most skilful arrangement of select voices of all ages,

and consequently of all tones, (les Chantres de la Cour,) singing sacred music of rich, full, and expressive beauty, is capable of exciting in the bosom of the spectator. One feels, for a moment, transported with ecstasy at the sublime effect of such heavenly strains, the very heart-strings seem touched by them, and sensibility is awakened to a degree which operatic music cannot produce. The whole is a most masterly performance, and the result may be quoted as the triumph of the human voice over every other instrument. From the most delightful *soprano*, down to the gravest *baritone*, every key note is here sung by a chorus of thirty, and at the Imperial Chapel, of one hundred and twenty performers, educated from the age of five years for this sole and sacred choral service. A fugue usually sung in the Russian churches at the Resurrection, accompanied by full choruses, was performed among other pieces, and displayed such skill in the composition, as well as execution, that I felt riveted to the spot. One of the finest tenor voices I ever heard, bore a conspicuous part in it; and the loud swell of the bass, contrasting with the flexible and silvery voices of the children, all singing with a degree of precision that could scarcely be equalled by a mechanical instrument, formed such a "concord of sweet sounds," that no persons present could help being affected. Towards the conclusion, the whole chorus burst out into a "*Gloria in excelsis*," another of Bortniansky's splendid compositions, and the effect of it was beyond conception fine. Certainly, until I heard this unique performance, I was not aware of all the harmony of which the human voice is capable. In this opinion I was still more confirmed by a second opportunity afforded me through the kindness of Madame Benkendorff, of hearing one hundred and ten of these same performers on the following day, at their own *conservatorio*, or school; where, as in the evening before, they sang without any instrument. The most renowned chorus singers of church music in Europe (and I believe I have heard the best of them), really sink into insignificance, compared to these minstrels. A *pater noster* was sung by them on this occasion, which struck me as by far the most affecting composition I had ever heard; there was a *crescendo* toward the end which was quite irresistible, and the effect of it on the audience was plainly visible on all that were in the room. I certainly had not the slightest notion of the existence of such a superior class of music as that which the orthodox Greco-Russian seems to be, particularly that of the composer whom I just mentioned, and who has since paid the great debt of nature. When Madame Catalani heard the *Chantres de la Cour*, she was affected to tears, and confessed to those near her, "Que jusqu'alors elle n'avait aucune idée de l'effet que peut produire un chœur de voix, quoiqu'elle eut entendu les Chantres de la célèbre Chapelle du Pape." In cathedral-music, that celebrated songstress preferred the writings of Bortniansky to any other with which she was acquainted."

"But the Russians, or rather the Imperial Family, have another extraordinary and striking species of music, which deserves to be mentioned in this place. They call it the hunting, or horn music; but it might with more propriety be styled an organ on a new construction. A band of from twenty to forty performers, equally skilled in blowing a short straight horn, are brought to execute what the keys of an organ are made to perform under the hands of an able master, namely, the simplest as well as the most complicated pieces of music, in all keys, and by every measure of time required; each performer never sounding more than one and the same note as set down for him; just as each key of an organ always produces the same note. As in that instrument, the most eloquent music is generally the result of such a disposition in its keys; and thus also the horn music of St. Petersburg, produces a most enchanting effect. This band occasionally performs in public, particularly during the summer, at the *parties de chasse* of the court, and at the time of the public promenades which take place on the smaller islands at that season. This species of music, which is peculiar to Russia, was invented by a Bohemian, named Maresch, a performer at the Court of the Empress Elizabeth; and a treatise was published about thirty years ago, by Henrichs, of St. Petersburg, with specimens of the manner in which the notes are set down for each performer."



In enumerating the popular sports, Dr. Granville specifies one, which, he thinks, every other traveller has omitted to mention. The Russians, it seems, have no cock-pit, but they have a *goose-pit*. Fighting birds of that tribe are systematically trained, and this practice prevails to a great extent among the hemp-merchants. They are taught to peck at each other's shoulders so as to draw blood. The ganders of the militant order have been sold as high as five hundred roubles, and betting upon them is pushed to a great extreme. *Bears* approach the vicinity of St. Petersburg, and draw out parties of huntsmen who track them in the snow, and kill them with ball. The Doctor illustrates the great number of these animals, in some of the central parts of Russia, and the facility of despatching them, by relating that a patient of his, a count, having learnt that he intended to go to Moscow, and wishing to have him provided with a bear skin for his feet in the carriage, wrote to the steward of one of the estates by which he was to pass, a note worded thus—"The bearer will wait at the post-station for an hour—kill a bear, and take to him the skin and the paws."

Our traveller explored the winter markets, which would seem to be objects of just curiosity. He walked through wide alleys lined with sledges, on which were piled, "mountains high," frozen flesh and frozen *fish* from every lake and every river in Russia, and even from Archangel. Captain Jones counted one thousand four hundred sledges,—a much smaller number than usual—in which the various frozen meats were disposed with regularity and taste. The exuberance of provisions brought in this manner, renders them exceedingly cheap in the winter, during which, they keep without the least deterioration. The carriers of them form a class of people "entirely apart from the rest of the population, in many striking respects." They travel in caravans, consisting of a hundred carts each, and journey from sixty to eighty versts a day. The *bird* market exhibits several thousand large and small red cages, containing "a vast variety of live birds of almost every description," brought by these conveyances.

The 13th chapter of Dr. Granville's second volume, is devoted to the forms of society in St. Petersburg, the dinners, balls, *soirées*, of which his connexion with Count Woronzow enabled him to see the best. He depicts them generally *couleur de rose*, conformably to impressions which a petted guest and a *bon vivant* could not fail to receive, in the midst of high-bred dames, resplendent with diamonds, and cavaliers in brocaded uniforms, on finely-polished *parquets* of differently coloured woods, and at dinner and supper tables, groaning under the delicacies of every clime and under dazzling *plateaux*, "surrounded by vases of flowers,—groups of fruit, and baskets of dry comfi-

tures." The minute imagery of this chapter comprehends all that the chief upholsterer, and chief restaurateur, of Paris or London, could furnish from their several inventories, of the grand, the beautiful, and the palatable. Among the festivities to which he was invited, were those of a marriage between the son and daughter of wealthy Russian hemp commission-agents. On the embossed border of his card, "delicately edged with rose-colour, the emblematic figure of Hymen was represented on the one side, standing under a palm tree, between the sleeping dogs of fidelity, and inviting from the other side, the figures of the bride and bridegroom." He accompanied the happy pair to the church, where the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Greek religion. On their return to the house of the bride's father, they were welcomed by that person in his Russian costume, with a flowing beard; and were escorted by a band of musicians to the banqueting-room, where matrons and damsels of the genuine Russia stock were assembled to partake of a most luxurious repast. In the evening, at a late hour, the *Pas-sajonaiatetz* took the bride by the hand, and conducted her into the bed-chamber, where he consigned her to the care of all the married ladies of the group, who then disrobed her of her bridal vestments, and substituted a more simple garb. When this was done, the doors of the bed-chamber were thrown open, and all the guests walked in, in procession, quaffing goblets of champagne to the health of the parties; kissed the bride's hands, who returned the salutations on their cheeks, and finally embraced the bridegroom. Dinners and dancing continued for three successive days; and on the eighth day, the husband and wife attended once more at the church for a new ceremonial.

Captain Jones witnessed similar weddings, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow. In the latter city, at the supper, "the only thing which offended against perfect gentility," may have been, he says, "the introduction of a whole fish, which required four men to place it on the table." He represents society in Moscow as more general, and the ladies as much more fascinating, than in the other capital. We are amused, not a little, by the naiveté of some of the Captain's anecdotes of his social intercourse. At the dinner-table of the Governor of Revel, his Excellency's daughter, "a very *nice* young lady," sat opposite to a colonel to whom she was affianced; and they interchanged so many fond glances and attentions, that the nautical stranger, "not being aware of the custom," and being near them, "felt extremely awkward." Upon inquiry, he learned that after an engagement, six months must elapse before the knot is tied,—a probationary term, during which the strength of the attachment or flame is judged of, by the endearing proofs which are given in *public*. It is said, he adds, to be no uncommon thing, for a lady

to get up in a large company, walk across the room, kiss her *intended*, and return without a blush on her cheek ! He describes the Admiral at Revel, as a little, old man, whose hair and beard were perfectly white, and both, when too long, clipped with scissors ; “ his whole dress being in unison.” The admiral may pass, but the portrait of his *cara sposa* is unique.—“ Figure to yourself,” says the Captain, “ a fat, squat person, with almost as much beard as her husband ; added to which were moles, with hair longer than on her head, which was cut short all round, and covered with a man’s round hat ; her address, too, was extremely *gauche*. However much we may have been prepared, from our knowledge of the admiral, to expect something eccentric in his better half, our astonishment at her appearance almost got the better of our politeness.” Both the lord and the lady, if they have read these delineations, must regret, we think, that they gave the Captain “ the very good dinner” which he acknowledges. There is a blunt frankness about him that operates on almost every occasion. We shall adduce, as an additional specimen, the following pithy comments on the devoutness of a part of the Russian naval corps, in the church of St. Nicholas, on the anniversary of that patron saint of the marine :—

“ Every body connected with the marine attended in the course of the day, to pay their devotions, with an earnestness and humility with which we were much struck, as being so very different from the conduct of our own rough tars, as different perhaps as their conduct would be in the hour of danger in a gale of wind, or on a lee shore. For my own part, I do not believe our sailors are worse Christians, or worse men than other people ; but I do think, if ever they are brought to be constantly praying and looking out for the best course to heaven, they will lose that carelessness of self-preservation, which so peculiarly fits them for their most uncertain profession, in which they are exposed to so many risks, that can only be parried or avoided by instantly rushing to what is so emphatically termed on shore, neck or nothing.”

Dr. Granville is of opinion that the constitution of the imperial government of Russia is not easily to be defined. The principles on which it is founded, are those of absolute monarchy. The head of the government being himself the only law-giver, it follows that the rest of its machinery must be wholly executive. This machinery is very extensive—immense, indeed, owing to the immensity of the empire. Dr. Granville confesses that the system of multiplied *bureaucracy*, works great inconvenience and wrong to individuals. The senate, according to Captain Jones, is not a deliberative body, except in cases laid before it by the emperor, and then the senators are merely to advise. The members are nominated and paid by the emperor, and removable at pleasure. Our captain presents in a very unfavourable light, the ministers in general, who, for the most part, are the effective rulers ; and the many foreigners who hold high places in the government. The judges are appointed by



the emperor, and removable at pleasure. Any person, having, or fancying that he has, the least smattering of the law, can practise as a lawyer. There are no regular lawyers brought up under solicitors, or in inns of court; none called to the bar, after a competent education. Such is the proneness of the people generally to chicanery and litigation, that all the pettifoggers find employment. In the course of the year 1826, upwards of 2,850,000 causes came before the different tribunals of the empire. The number of persons confined in prison, in the same year, was one hundred and twenty thousand. The *knout* is still inflicted on females. These facts are communicated by Dr. Granville, on the authority of a Russian *procureur*.

The extent of the Russian empire, in 1820, was found to be three hundred and forty thousand square miles: the population is reckoned at between fifty and sixty millions of souls,—of whom more than forty millions are peasants or serfs, and labourers. The number belonging to the crown is computed at fourteen millions; and the individuals of the imperial family possess each a multitude. By some writers, it is affirmed that the free subjects do not amount to more than one eleventh of the whole population. Dr. Granville repeats from the mouth of an eminent Russian friend, palliative explanations of the bondage or *servage* of the peasantry:—

“The *serfs*,” observed the Russian, “are a remnant of the feudal system of the Germans; they form part of the glebe—*astricti glebæ*; they can only be made over to another as part of the estate; serfs are not sold in Russia, with the consent of the law, as slaves are sold in the West Indies, and in that *free* republic, *par excellence*, the United States of America. As part of my estate, my own serfs have a right to be allowed to cultivate three days in the week on their own account, that part of my estate which the law assigns for them. During the other three days in the week, they are to work for me, and cultivate my land. With respect to corporal punishment, to which they are liable, and which the master or his agents have the power of inflicting, much misrepresentation has gone abroad. Every proprietor may have a serf flogged on the back, but the serf has a right to complain to the police of an unjust or excessive punishment. In no country, are the peasantry better lodged, fed, and clothed.”

Still, this vast body of human beings, *of the same race and colour as their masters*, are slaves, bonded to the land, and subject to the capricious lash and compulsory perpetual tribute. When the government stands in need of recruits for the army, or would raise levies to meet an emergence, the proper authorities have only to address a copy of the Imperial rescript, or its import, to each person holding serfs, directing him to send to a particular spot or rendezvous, and by a certain time, a quota of peasants, suitably equipped, of a prescribed age and height, in proportion to his whole number. The serfs settle it among themselves, who are to march, and those upon whom the lot falls, may send substitutes, for whom large sums are paid. Every peasant becomes free, the moment he assumes the military livery of the

sovereign,—if *he* can be said to become *free*, who exchanges one species of toil and subjection, for another more perilous and oppressive, and whose back is liable to any number of *coups de baton*, which any of his superior officers may please to order. The actual pay of a Russian soldier is not more than half a crown a month. Dr. Lyall says, in his “Travels in Russia, &c.”

“I have seen the recruits, upon *talégas* and sledges, drawn at a solemn pace, and surrounded by their relations and friends, who bewailed their fate in the most lamentable manner; whilst they, dejected and absorbed in grief, sat like statues, or lay extended like corpses. In fact, a stranger would assuredly have imagined that he saw a funeral procession, and heard the lamentations and the wild shrieks, which, in Russia, are uttered for the dead. Nor, indeed, would the mistake be great, according to the ideas of the peasants, who take an everlasting farewell of their children, brothers, relations, and friends, and consider their entrance into the army as their *moral death*. They seldom indulge the hope of seeing them, or of hearing from them again, especially in the distant governments of the empire, and but too often their anticipations prove correct. Few furloughs are given to Russian soldiers, the distance from their homes rendering visits impossible; and seldom can a correspondence be kept up by those who can neither read nor write, and who must trust to the precarious chance of sending verbal messages. The chances of falling in battle, or by natural death, before the expiration of twenty-five years’ servitude, present but a gloomy and doubtful perspective of the soldier’s ever again beholding his native home, and justify the grief and lamentation of his friends.”

Dr. Granville states, that in 1818, the regular army was one million of men, but was to be gradually reduced afterwards, one third. Captain Jones “ventures to estimate it, from the best sources of information, at eight hundred thousand men, of all arms, of whom, perhaps, not more than one half are positively efficient for field duties.” In time of war, the Cossacks usually send forty or fifty thousand cavalry into the field. The Imperial guard consists of forty thousand picked men. Military titles are the standard of rank in Russia. Many civil officers are generals, captains, &c., who never have been in the military or naval service. The army, and the establishments connected with it, form the chief care of the rulers. There are but few of our readers, we presume, who have not heard of the *military colonization* which the Russian government instituted some years ago. It has been developed and traced in all its details, by Dr. Lyall, in his pamphlet, entitled “An Account of the Organization, Administration, and present state of the Military Colonies in Russia.” Captain Jones, after having traversed the empire, declares that the system has produced “a most marked feeling of hatred and opposition.” Colonel De Lacy Evans treats it as a scheme ambitiously devised, which eventually is to place at the disposal of the government, three millions of males trained from the earliest age to military exercises, and held constantly in readiness to re-enforce the embodied army. Seventy thousand is the number now available from this source. The consequence, he insists, if not the intention, is plainly the foundation of an immense mili-

tary *caste*, disposed and qualified to rivet the chains of their countrymen, and ever prepared to co-operate in aggression on foreign states.

According to Dr. Granville, the Russians have in commission, twenty-five sail of the line, thirty frigates, nine hundred small vessels and craft of every description, with eighty thousand seamen of all classes and ranks. While he was at, or approaching St. Petersburg, within the short space of three weeks, three ships of the line were launched in that capital, one of them a first rate, and all built on the most approved principles. He "bears witness" that in point of cleanliness and order, as well as discipline, the navy of Russia has made within the last twenty years, such progress as to keep pace with the improvements that have taken place in every other department. The oak timber, for the ships, according to Captain Jones, comes from Kasan; it runs large, but is of bad quality, and by no means durable. The chief naval architect, a Frenchman, who had been employed for a considerable time in the same capacity, at Constantinople, told that officer, that the oak of Asia Minor, on the southern coast of the Black Sea, is by far the best he had ever met with, being even superior to the English. Russia mans her fleet by conscription in the interior. Jones thinks that as much is made of her sailors as possible under every disadvantage, and that they are clever imitators. At Odessa, he holds the following language:—

"The two seas, the Black Sea, and that of Azof, present an amazing extent of coast, when it is considered that the former is six hundred miles in length, and three hundred and thirty broad in the widest part, and one hundred and forty-two in the narrowest; while the latter is one hundred and eighty-six miles in length, and ninety in breadth. Both possess that which renders them invaluable, as a nursery for good seamen, namely, every description of coast, depth of water, and variety of currents. It has been well observed by an intelligent author, that the country which possesses the greatest line of coast, must ever prove superior in point of seamen; now, including the seven hundred and eighty-six miles, the length of the Black Sea, and that of Azof, it must be remembered that the extent of coast, without regarding sinuosities, is at least one thousand six hundred miles, nearly all the trade of which would soon fall into the hands of Russia,—for the Turks, from indolence and natural aversion to the sea, would soon abandon it to them. No other nation, supposing all restrictions were abolished, would ever be able to compete with them, on account of the easy rate at which the Russians could build, fit, and sail their vessels, the empire producing within itself every necessary article for both building and equipment, at an extraordinarily low price, and in the greatest abundance, while the natives are accustomed to live on the hardest fare. But should they become refined, still all ordinary provisions are extremely reasonable, and there is little doubt that Russian ships could be built and navigated at nearly half the expense of those of any other nation, particularly in the Black Sea.

"Indeed, when I survey the maritime resources of this great empire, I cannot persuade myself that Russia is not destined to become a great naval and commercial power. However, from the existing prejudices on the part of the natives to any thing connected with the sea, there cannot be a doubt that much time will elapse before such a material change can be produced in their habits, as to verify my prediction. But should the present or a future sovereign be duly impressed with the importance of the subject, it is impossible to say how



soon such an alteration might be effected, particularly when we consider the acknowledged docility of temper, which all the common natives possess."

Colonel Evans, in the hypothesis of the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, anticipates a new era in naval affairs. That port, he is sure, cannot fail, from its resources and location, to become in a very short time, the most formidable arsenal in the world. "The forests of Asia Minor, the iron of Caucasus, the copper of Calcedon, the hemp of Synope and Trebisonde, celebrated for its long staple, all will flow to the provisioning of the depots of the Bosphorus." Upon the same supposition, he proceeds to prophesy that no great number of years will elapse before the Czar will have a hundred sail of the line in construction, or exercising in the Marmora and Euxine, manned by the expert Greek, and docile Russian, and possibly "*under the severe and skilful direction of North American officers.*" The Colonel casts several glances of apprehension, distrust, or jealousy, to this side of the Atlantic. There is another, besides the two to which we have referred. In his sketch of the foreign policy of Russia, after she shall have gained Constantinople, he assures his countrymen that "the Russian Alliance with the United States of North America, will be one of the most intimate, and that a community of object, the subversion of British naval and commercial supremacy, will induce and cement this incongruous and disingenuous union."

In Russia, there is but little gold in circulation; the larger sort of silver coinage is somewhat general; the smaller pieces are more so; but copper money is "the standard currency of the country, and very abundant." The whole capital in circulation in bank notes, throughout the empire, in January 1827, amounted to 595,776,310 roubles,\* (120,000,000 dollars.) The total revenue of Russia is 450,000,000 roubles (90,000,000 dollars) paper money value. The public debt, in January 1827, was, to Holland, 46,100,000 florins, (18,400,000 dollars) national—14,220 roubles in gold; 83,143,731, in silver; (63,200,000 dollars,) 264,496,304

\* The present silver ruble of Russia, is intrinsically equal in value to seventy-six cents American money. It was assayed at our mint, by Mr. Gallatin's orders, when he was Secretary of the Treasury. The paper ruble has become depreciated about seventy-five per cent.; so that in common traffic in Russia, for small amounts, the fourth part of a silver ruble is always taken for one ruble paper. The general value of the silver ruble on the exchange, is not quite so great, however; it has ranged for several years at about rubles 3.70 paper, and the government receives the paper money in payment of duties, (which are calculated in silver,) at the rate of rubles 3.60 for one.

In exchange with other countries, the value of the paper ruble fluctuates continually. We have known it since 1811, as high as 26 pence sterling, and as low as 9 1-8 pence. Its present rate in exchange on London, is 10 1-2 pence sterling. Commercial transactions are in paper money, and, for all the purposes of general estimates, the paper ruble may be taken at twenty cents our money. The only gold coin of Russia is called the "Imperial," and is equal to ten silver rubles in value; but the Imperial is now very rarely to be seen.

(53,000,000 dollars) in Bank notes. According to Dr. Granville, the punctuality of the government towards its public creditors is universally acknowledged. He heard "a diplomatic character of the first respectability, unconnected with Russia, say that the Russian funds were to be considered equal in security to those of England, and superior to them in the advantages of a larger interest." Each landholder contributes to the treasury a tenth part of the income which he derives from his serfs. Ten millions sterling were raised in London, for the Russian government, not long since; and Colonel Evans does not doubt that if it were to obtain Constantinople, the gambling *millionaires* of the stock exchange would advance all the funds necessary to provide the materials of fleets and munitions of war against Great Britain herself. Captain Jones accuses it of parsimony towards its best servants, alleging that officers of every description, civil, military, and naval, are most miserably paid, and thus, from necessity, obliged to have recourse to many means for subsistence, which, under any other circumstances, would be deemed highly derogatory.

Dr. Lyall stigmatizes the administration and judicial officers, as almost universally venal, quoting their own aphorism—*Il faut vivre ; et en Russie—pour vivre il faut voler*. It is impossible to doubt—so uniform is the testimony of travellers on this subject—that flagrant abuses of authority and trust are common throughout the empire in every department. The central despotism, however disposed, cannot be effectual to enforce rights or prevent wrongs over so vast a theatre. Subordinate power must be more or less arbitrary and irresponsible; independently of the influences of bad example at the seat of supreme government, and a system of personal servitude so comprehensive. In the second volume of Captain Jones, there are some sensible views of the state of Russia in this respect, as he had contemplated it even under the mild and beneficent sway of Alexander.

As to religious denominations, the empire comprises—of Orthodox Greco-Russians, 37,000,000; Roman Catholics, United Greeks, and Armenians, 9,500,000; Protestants, Evangelicals, Lutherans, and Calvinists, 3,000,000; Mahometans, 2,000,000; Pagans, or idolaters of different titles, 1,500,000; besides nearly a million and a half of wandering tribes, whose creed is unknown. Dr. Granville allows no more than two hundred and twenty or thirty thousand ecclesiastics altogether, of whom about two thirds profess the Greek religion. The monastic are much better educated than the secular priesthood. The *papas* are certainly in bad odour abroad. We may presume that the religious illumination and habits of the people, are about co-ordinate with their general intellectual improvement. Until they shall be further educated, or raised from barbarism, they will remain addict-

ed to gross superstitions, and infatuated with pastors nearly as illiterate and truculent as themselves. All creeds and forms of worship are tolerated, and the absence of religious rancour is generally acknowledged by travellers. Captain Jones, (not an imposing authority on this head,) mentions, that at the present day, the monasteries and nunneries of the empire seem utterly deserted, in comparison with what they formerly were; for, in three hundred and eighty-seven monasteries, there are no more than 4901 monks, and in ninety-one nunneries, only 1696 nuns.

Dr. Granville believes it must be admitted, that the Russians, as well as those foreign residents who have in a manner become Russians, possess scientific institutions, and men capable of instructing them in almost every branch of science, equal to those of any other country. This may be the case in the metropolis; but the admission would not, we apprehend, be extended, by any inquirer, to the other parts, or any other part of the empire. Sciolists, and mere pretenders have gone thither in crowds, from Germany, England, France, and Italy, to assume the functions of instructors, and could only mar good intellects, or make smatterers and empirics like themselves. Captain Jones, even, was scandalized by the specimens of English governesses, and periodical literati, whom he met at Moscow, in the houses of some of the affluent gentry. Dr. Lyall asserts that one half or three fourths of the British governesses in Russia, have been cooks, chamber-maids, and so forth: he extends the observation to most of the Germans and French who are entrusted with the education of the female youth, and treats as notorious "the extraordinary personages who frequently have the male youth committed to their guidance." It is not to be disputed, indeed, that the large institutions for the female children of the rich and noble, which are specially patronised by the imperial family, may furnish the more brilliant accomplishments. Elementary education, however, is yet far from being sound or diffusive for either sex. The mass of the nation is still wholly untaught. The scores of millions of bondsmen lack the first rudiments. Many private libraries in the two capitals, and some of the public, are large, and not ill-provided. The principal, or only public one, of St. Petersburg, contains about two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. In a particular compartment, are deposited copies of all the Russian works published from the earliest period of Russian typography, on subjects of every description,—to the number of fifteen thousand. The press in Russia is obnoxious to a board of censors;—it could not be free. All that Dr. Granville can utter in favour of the periodical works issued in St. Petersburg and Moscow, is, that they are not so totally devoid of interest, or so insignificant, as some recent travellers have pretended. He regards the progress of the modern Russians as



greatest in poetry, and generally greater in polite literature, than in the other branches of knowledge which they cultivate. The world has heard of Karamsin, the able historian, and of the poets, Lomonossoff, Pouschnine, Soumarokoff, Kriloff, and Joukovsky. Our Doctor expounds their respective merits. Eighty thousand volumes in the Slavonic Russian languages, were published between 1551 and 1813;—and that number, he surmises, has been nearly doubled since.

We would gladly cull a small portion of the facts or statements which this traveller has accumulated in his chapters concerning the several branches and edifices of the public administration; the industry and commerce of the Russians; their prison-discipline; the science and practice of medicine and surgery; the jurisprudence, bench, and bar; the charitable foundations; the collections of pictures: and with still more satisfaction would we attend him through the imperial palaces and princely mansions, town and country, the contents of which he appears to have conned;—were it not that we could scarcely rely upon the sympathy or patience of our readers, and might very far transcend those bounds which every prudent American bookseller assigns to all domestic “Quarterlies.” We must, therefore, now depart with him on his rapid return to London, through Poland, Silesia, the Federated States, and France; a journey, the record of which occupies one hundred and sixty pages, or more, of his second volume, and which embraces, eminently, full length pictures of Warsaw and Dresden. That he is not to be envied through the first grand division of his route, may be understood by the following passage of his first postliminous chapter:—

“To a person sitting quietly in his *chaise longue*, by a good fireside at home, or in one of the ample chairs in a snug corner of the library at “The Travellers,” the peevishness of our complaints about roads, horses, and postillions, may appear ridiculous, and only worthy to excite a smile; but were he to find himself, at the end of nine or ten days and nights, without once having doffed his clothes, approaching an intended resting-place by roads which oblige him to go at a snail’s-pace, and knee-deep through sands, or ascending steep hills glazed over with ice, and refusing a hold to the feet of six poor meagre animals; were he to find, under such circumstances, that his carriage slips backwards, and drags the whole team along with it; if he were, about the middle of a dark pitch night, lamps out, snow hills high on each side of the road, and the track of that road lost, to be suddenly roused from his slumbers to lend a hand in clearing the carriage from impediments and danger, he might then, peradventure, read our querulous accounts with more sympathy than contempt. At all events, it is fit that travellers, who are likely to direct their course that way, should know beforehand what they are to expect, and how they should be prepared to meet such difficulties. Nothing that I have seen any where else in Europe, can give an idea of the wretched state and condition of from thirty to forty towns and villages of the country through which we passed. Well might the French soldier of Napoleon, who had heard his Polish comrades talk highly of their country, which he had come to assist in regenerating, exclaim, after he had seen its wretched condition: “*Et ces gueux là appellent cette terre une patrie!*”

The Doctor was pleased with the general appearance of Warsaw—its showy palaces, its noble churches and towering spires, and its picturesque disposition on a hill of considerable elevation. He saw no semi-Asiatic costumes, as at St. Petersburg; but a uniform attire and homogeneous body of citizens—Poles, who are habitually more merry than their masters—loud chatters, fond of amusement; addicted to living in the open air and doing nothing. The only very busy people were the Jews, who are not fewer than twenty-eight thousand in the Polish capital, enjoying entire freedom of religious worship, and unmolested in the fruition of great wealth. Ten thousand foreign manufacturers are settled in the different cities of Poland. The army is clothed in homespun. The peasantry are in a wretched condition. In general, national prosperity is a phrase which does not apply to the kingdom. Anarchy, war, and Russian and French protection, have destroyed the dignity, wasted the resources, and crippled every interest, of a numerous people abundantly gifted by Providence.

In the Prussian dominions, our traveller found the line of road crossing two-thirds of the kingdom from east to west, passing through two cities of importance, leading from one considerable town to another, to the number of eighteen, as far as the capital of Saxony, in a worse state than the cross-roads in European Turkey, which are among the worst imaginable. *Dresden*, the "Florence of Germany," is full of beauties and points of interest, and to be extolled as a place of residence for a man of taste, above any other capital north of Paris. It has, like Paris, Brussels, and Rome, an English colony, whose splendid equipages and exuberant eccentricities "give to the Saxon metropolis a greater degree of eclat and animation." Every one has heard of its china-ware, picture galleries, armouries, royal château, and diamond treasure, and the rich and picturesque scenery of its environs. The Doctor has spread the whole before his readers. He made an excursion to *Halle*, in order to confer with the eminent professors of anatomy, zoology, and botany, each of whom is revolved and depicted. We learn from him that the University of Halle seldom boasts of more than *sixty* pupils, notwithstanding the celebrity of its teachers and museums. He then hastened to Weimar, in order to pay homage to the Patriarch of German Literature. *Goethe* gave him an appointment at half past ten in the morning. As that transcendent genius of our era is an object of lively interest for all the votaries of the pen, we shall transcribe our author's relation of the interview, bidding adieu, at the same time, to his massive miscellany:—

"There are forms which one must go through to see the great Patriarch. He likes not being taken by surprise; and whenever he has been so intruded upon, he has not appeared to advantage; has seemed confused, not much pleased, and niggard of his answers. He is, on the contrary, most amiable, all affability and

playfulness, as when in his younger days, if visited by appointment. At his advanced age, which has now reached its seventy-ninth year, exposed to be stared at as a lion, and made frequently to pay the forfeit of his celebrity, by submitting to the impertinent intrusions of the idle and the curious, it is no matter of surprise that Goethe should appear to have some *bizarrerie* in his manners.

"At half past ten precisely, Goethe made his appearance in one of his classically withdrawing-rooms, into which I had been but the moment before introduced. He advanced towards me with the countenance of one who seems not to go through the ceremony of a first greeting *à contre cœur*; and I felt thankful to him for that first impression on my mind. His person was erect, and denoted not the advance of age. His open and well-arched eyebrows, which give effect to the undimmed lustre of the most brilliant eye I have ever beheld; his fresh look and mild expression of countenance, at once captivated my whole attention, and when he extended his friendly hand to welcome me to his dwelling, I stood absorbed in the contemplation of the most literary character of the age. The sound of his voice, which bespeaks peculiar affability, and the first questions he addressed to me respecting my journey, however, recalled me from my reverie, and I entered at once into the spirit which presided at the interview, alike free from frivolity and haughty reserve. I found him in his conversation ready, rather than fluent; following, rather than leading; unaffected, yet gentlemanly; earnest, yet entertaining; and manifesting no desire to display how much he deserved the reputation, which not only Germany, but Europe in general, had simultaneously acknowledged to be his due. He conversed in French, and occasionally in English, particularly when desirous to make me understand the force of his observations on some recent translations of one or two of his works into that language. Faustus was one of these. The translation, by the present noble Secretary for Ireland, of that singular dramatic composition, which for beauty of style, and ingenuity of contrivance, leaves the old play of the same name, by Marlowe, far behind, seemed not to have given satisfaction to the veteran author. He observed to me, that most assuredly it was not a translation, but an imitation of what he had written. 'Whole sentences of the original,' added he, 'have been omitted, and chasms left in the translation, where the most affecting passages should have been inserted to complete the picture. There were probably difficulties in the original which the noble translator might not be able to overcome; few foreigners, indeed, can boast of such mastery of our prodigal idiom, as to be able to convey its meaning with equal richness of expression, and strength of conception, in their own native language; but in the case of the translation to which I allude, that excuse for imperfection does not exist in many of the parts which Lord Francis Gower has thought proper to omit. No doubt, the choice of expressions in the English translation, the versification, and talent displayed in what is *original composition* of his lordship's own well-gifted mind, may be deserving of his countrymen's applause, but it is as the author of Faustus *travesti*, and not as the translator of Goethe's Faustus, that the popular applause has been obtained.'

"The patriarch poet seemed far more satisfied with the translation of another of his beautiful dramas, the Tasso, by Mr. Devaux. He said, 'I understand English *à ma manière*, quite sufficient to discover in that gentleman's recent translation, that he has rendered all my ideas faithfully, *Je me lisois moi-même dans la traduction*. It is for the English to determine, if, in adhering faithfully to the ideas of the German original, Mr. Devaux *a conservé les règles et n'a pas trahi le génie de sa langue. Je n'en suis pas juge; peut-être le trouvera-t-on un peu trop Allemand.*'

"Throughout this interview, which lasted upwards of an hour, Goethe manifested great eagerness after general information, particularly respecting England and her numerous institutions; and also on the subject of St. Petersburg, which he looked upon as a city that was fast rising to the rank of the first capital on the Continent, according to the opinion of many intelligent travellers, whom he had seen and conversed with on the subject. In taking leave of him, at length, Goethe put into my hands a small red morocco case, which he hoped I would accept as a *souvenir* of our meeting; after which I withdrew, with sentiments of



increased admiration for this celebrated man. The case contained two bronze medals, the one executed by Brandt of Berlin, the other by Bovy, and both represent the bust of the poet in bold relief, particularly the latter, which is decidedly of superior execution. The former, which bears on one side the portraits of the late Grand-duke and his consort, with the inscription "Carl August and Luise Goeth en Zum VII Novem. 1825." was struck by order of that prince, to commemorate the fiftieth year of Goethe's residence at his court, and was presented to the poet, a Counsellor and Minister of state, on the day mentioned in the inscription, accompanied by a letter addressed to him by the Grand-duke, which is flattering to the distinguished individual to whom it is indited, and honourable to the feelings of the writer, the excellent prince whose recent loss Weimar deplores."

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